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SOME SCRIBAL TECHNIQUES IN ANCIENT  
ISRAEL WITH OTHER SEMITIC PARALLELS

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by

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## Preface

Throughout the dissertation, reference to scholarly works has been made in an abbreviated form if these were cited more than once. This has reduced the bulk of the footnotes and done away with the often enigmatic use of op.cit. The bibliography includes full details of all works referred to by abbreviation in text and footnotes.

The numeration of biblical texts follows that of the Massoretic Text for which Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (edd. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, Stuttgart, 1969/1977) has been used. Translations of biblical texts are my own. A marginal asterisk (\*) indicates that one should consult the Addenda and Corrigenda, pp. 449-450.

It is my pleasure to express appreciation to those who have assisted in various aspects in this research. Firstly, I would like to sincerely thank Professor D.J. Wiseman, my supervisor, for his patient help, encouragement and direction. I would also like to thank other colleagues and friends, including the Old Testament Study Group of the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research, for comments and suggestions at different stages. For their support during my research, I am grateful to The Canada Council for a Doctoral Fellowship, Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research for research grants, Bethel College, Westminster Chapel, Mr. & Mrs. G.F. Roberts, Mr. & Mrs. J.W. Baker, and others, for their financial assistance. I thank Miss Jean Lindblom for help in producing the typescripts. Finally, and most of all, I thank my wife Morven for her support, encouragement, and impulse, as well as typing and retyping numerous forms and drafts of this thesis. To her I dedicate this.



## Abstract

This thesis examines selected ancient Semitic scribal techniques. The main source document is the Hebrew Old Testament, with illumination also found in extra-biblical texts (at times autographs rather than later copies, as is the Masoretic text).

The first discussion concerns text descriptions. A study of subscripts, especially colophons, results in the refutation of Gevaryahu's claims that some biblical headings were originally colophons. A synthetic study of headings, both specific titles and more general descriptions, follows with special emphasis on incipits, several of which are now identified in the Old Testament. Some types of description are shown to be secondary, scribal additions, while others could be original.

Textual divisions are studied under two categories: those which can be studied in situ in autograph texts, and those which are determined internally due to the lack of autographs. This includes the Masoretic text, using Genesis, Leviticus 1-7 and Amos here as case studies. These are found to correspond to divisions externally determined in extra-biblical texts, thus providing some control in the division of the biblical text.

A study of glosses and notes critiques the methodology of G.R. Driver and others in determining the presence of these, and analyses them from the more objective evidence provided by explicit temporal notes, the waw explicativum, and circumstantial clauses.

Finally, there is a study of abbreviations, a number of which have been proposed for the Old Testament by G.R. Driver and others. Based on the analysis of objective abbreviations in other Semitic languages, their existence in the Old Testament is called into question, at least in the scale previously proposed.

Scribes are thus shown to effect various aspects of the text, especially its structure and description. Even the internal content can show evidence of scribal practice.

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow A.L. Oppenheim and E. Reiner, eds., The Assyrian Dictionary M<sub>I</sub> (Chicago, 1977), pp. ix-xxiv, G.A. Buttrick et al., The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible I (New York and Nashville, 1962), pp. xxix-xxxii and K. Crim, The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume (New York and Nashville, 1976), pp. xxii-xxv. Items not listed there can be found by referring to the author's name and the short title found in the bibliography (pp. 408-432). Other abbreviations used are:

ABC - A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.

AD - G.R. Driver, Aramaic Documents in the Fifth Century B.C.

AP - A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.

ARI - A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.

AV - Authorised Version.

BANE - G.E. Wright, The Bible and the Ancient Near East.

BDB - F. Brown, et al., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.

BetM - Beth Miqra (Jerusalem)

BHS - K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, Biblia Hebraica  
Stuttgartensia.

BN - Biblische Notizen (Bamberg).

BP - E.G. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri.

BT - The Bible Translator (London).

CIS - Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Paris).

DAE - P. Grelot, Documents araméens d'Égypte.

Deir 'Alla - J. Hoftijzer and G. von der Kooij, Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla.

DISO - C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques.

- EAEHL - M. Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.
- EJ - Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1971).
- EM - Encyclopedia Migrait (Jerusalem, 1965 - ).
- EQ - Evangelical Quarterly (London).
- ESE - Ephemeris fur semitische Epigraphik, M. Lidzbarski, ed. (Giessen).
- EV(V) - English version(s).
- GAG - W. von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik.
- GK - A. Cowley, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautsch.
- GUOS Trans - Glasgow University Oriental Society. Transactions (Glasgow).
- IAK - E.F. Weidner et al., Die Inschriften der altassyrische Könige.
- IDBS - K. Crim et al., Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume.
- IR - R. Hestrin, Inscriptions Reveal.
- JETS - Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society (Wheaton).
- K - k<sup>e</sup>tiv; the Masoretic word written.
- KA - Y. Aharoni, כתובות עיר.
- KB - L. Koehler et al., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros
- KB<sup>3</sup> - L. Koehler et al., Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament.
- KTU - M. Dietrich et al., Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.
- MKT - O. Neugebauer, Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte.
- NASB - New American Standard Bible.
- NEB - New English Bible.
- NESE - Neue Ephemeris fur Semitische Epigraphik (Wiesbaden).
- NIV - New International Version.
- OED - J.A.H. Murray et al., ed., Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1933).
- Q - qerê; the MT word to be read.
- Rimah - S. Dalley et al., The Old Babylonian Texts from Tell al Rimah.
- RV - Revised Version.

RSV - Revised Standard Version.

SSI - J.C.L. Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions.

TDOT - J.G. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.

THAT - E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.

T(H)B - Tyndale (House) Bulletin (London).

ThRsch - Theologische Rundschau (Freiburg/Tübingen).

TO - A. Caquot et al., Textes Ougaritiques.

TZ - Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel).

Ug. - Ugaritica (Paris).

ZPEB - M.C. Tenney, ed., The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible  
(Grand Rapids, 1977).

## Introduction

This thesis will deal with the function of the scribe as a writer or copier of texts and the techniques which he uses to do this work. This aspect of his occupation is evident in the Old Testament by reference to various instruments of his craft<sup>1</sup> as well as records of his actually drafting and writing documents.<sup>2</sup> We will not consider other scribal functions here, however, either as practiced in Israel or elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Some areas of scribal technique have been well researched and will not be the primary subject of this thesis. The definitive publication of any text requires the basic physical data concerning the vehicle upon which it is written and the writing instrument and material.<sup>4</sup> Cuneiform

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<sup>1</sup>In the OT there is mention of the pen (נֶגֶד - Jer 8:8; 17:1; Ps 45:2; Job 19:24; נֶגֶד - Exod 32:4; Isa 8:1; see G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 84-86, 241), writing case (חֶסֶד - Ezek 9:2-3, 11; this is the translation of Holladay, Lexicon, p. 321; cf. BDB, p. 903; Cooke, Ezekiel, p. 104, Mettinger, Officials, p. 49 and G. R. Driver, Writing, p. 86 who interprets this as an ink container) and pen-knife (כַּתָּב - Jer 36:23; see ibid.).

<sup>2</sup>Writing decrees (Esth 3:12; 8:9) or lists (1 Chr 24:6).

<sup>3</sup>For a more thorough study of other duties and functions of a scribe see Mettinger, Officials, pp. 25-51; cf. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy, pp. 158-171.

<sup>4</sup>These include the text dimensions, material, colour; stylus, pen, brush; ink, charcoal, etc. Cuneiform texts, e.g. D. J. Wiseman, 'Assyrian Writing Boards', Iraq 17 (1955), pp. 3-13; G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 14-33, (continued)

palaeography<sup>1</sup> has been partially covered by Labat<sup>2</sup> and Borger<sup>3</sup> (sign-lists) as well as in detailed studies of the script in one given period and place, e.g. Biggs' work on the texts from Fara.<sup>4</sup> Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician and Ugaritic palaeography has been researched by Naveh,<sup>5</sup> Cross and Avigad,<sup>6</sup>

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(continued) 225-228; alphabetic texts, e.g. ibid., pp. 78-87, 239-242; J. A. Mosk, 'Analysis of the Ink' and G. van der Kooij, 'The Plaster and Other Materials Used' and 'The Writing Instrument' in Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, Deir 'Alla, pp. 21-41.

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<sup>1</sup>For a general discussion of Semitic palaeography see G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 33-62, 90-124, 128-197, 228-234, 242-274.

<sup>2</sup>Labat, Manuel.

<sup>3</sup>Borger, Zeichenliste.

<sup>4</sup>Biggs, Or 42 (1973), pp. 39-46; see the bibliography in Borger, Handbuch III, para. 121. See also e.g. E. F. Weidner, 'Die Bibliothek Tiglat-pileasers I', AfO 16 (1952-1953), p. 201; A. E. Glock, 'A New Ta'anek Tablet', BASOR 204 (1971), pp. 20-26.

<sup>5</sup>J. Naveh, The Development of the Aramaic Script (Jerusalem, 1970); idem, The Palaeography of the Hermopolis Papyri (Jerusalem, 1971); see also e.g. S. Segert, 'Altaramäische Schrift und Anfänge des griechischen Alphabets', Klio 91 (1963), pp. 33-57; idem, 'Zur Schrift und Orthographie der altaramäischen Stelen von Sfire', ArOr 32 (1964), pp. 110-126; S. J. Lieberman, 'The Aramaic Argillary Script in the Seventh Century', BASOR 192 (1968), pp. 25-31; G. van der Kooij, 'The Script of the DAPT', in Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, Deir 'Alla, pp. 42-96; Herr, Scripts, pp. 7-54. For bibliography of the work of N. Avigad in this area, see Hanson, 'Jewish Palaeography', p. 571, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup>F. M. Cross, 'The Development of the Jewish Script', BANE, pp. 133-202; see references in Hanson, 'Jewish Palaeography', pp. 570-571, n. 4. N. Avigad, see ibid., p. 571, n. 7 and passim; see also e.g. C. Bernheimer, Palaeographica ebraica (Florence, 1924); J. C. Trever, 'The Problem of Dating The Dead Sea Scrolls', Smithsonian Report (1953), pp. 425-435; G. M. Schramm, The Graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew (Los Angeles/Berkeley, 1964); T. Wahl, 'How Did the Hebrew Scribe Form His Letters?', JANES 3 (1971), pp. 8-19; Herr, Scripts, pp. 79-152.

Peckham,<sup>1</sup> and Rainey<sup>2</sup> respectively. The field of orthography has also been studied in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Akkadian by Cross and Freedman,<sup>3</sup> Blau,<sup>4</sup> Segert,<sup>5</sup> and Aro<sup>6</sup> respectively.

In addition to actually writing the text, the scribe was also sometimes responsible for its oral presentation to the addressee, who was usually illiterate (2 Ki 22:10; Jer 36:6-18; Neh 8:1-3; 2 Chr 34:18; cf. 2 Ki 19:2). He was also charged with preserving the documents and storing them in archives

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<sup>1</sup>J. B. Peckham, The Development of the Late Phoenecian Scripts (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); see also e.g. Hanson, 'Jewish Palaeography', p. 573, n. 8 and W. Helck, 'Fur Herkunft der sog. "Phönizischen" Schrift', UF 4 (1972), pp. 41-45; Herr, Scripts, pp. 171-184.

<sup>2</sup>A. F. Rainey, 'The Scribe at Ugarit, His Position and Influence', Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 3 (1969), pp. 126-147; see also e.g. R. B. Coote, 'Another Sign of Scribal Copying in the Mythological Texts in Ugaritica V', UF 6 (1974), pp. 447-448.

<sup>3</sup>F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence (New Haven, 1952); D. N. Freedman, 'The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography', Textus 2 (1962), pp. 87-102; *idem*, 'The Orthography of the Arad Ostraca', IEJ 19 (1969), pp. 52-56; 'Orthographic Peculiarities in the Book of Job', Eretz Israel 9 (1969), pp. 35-44; see also e.g. J. Leveen, 'The Orthography of lQIs<sup>a</sup>', Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists (1958), pp. 577-583; P. Wernberg-Møller, 'Studies in the Defective Spellings in the Isaiah scroll of St. Mark's Monastery', JSS 3 (1958), pp. 244-264; H. Bardtke, 'Zur Paläographie und zur Handschriftenkunde von Qumran', ThRsch 30 (1965), pp. 296-315.

<sup>4</sup>J. Blau, 'On Problems of Polyphony and Archaism in Ugaritic Spelling', JAOS 88 (1968), pp. 523-526; J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, 'Zur Frage der Scriptio Plene in Ugaritischen und Verwandtes', UF 2 (1970), pp. 19-33; see also e.g. J. S. Ascaso, 'Notizen zur ugaritischen Orthographie', UF 3 (1971), pp. 173-180; L. A. Bange, A Study of the Use of Vowel Letters in Alphabetic Consonantal Writing (Munich, 1971); M. E. J. Richardson, 'Ugaritic Spelling Errors', TB 24 (1973), pp. 3-20.

<sup>5</sup>S. Segert, 'Zur Orthographie und Sprache des aramäischen textes von Wadi Muraba'āt', ArOr 31 (1963), pp. 122-137; *idem*, 'Zur Schrift und Orthographie der altaramäischen Stelen von Sfire', ArOr 32 (1964), pp. 110-126.

<sup>6</sup>J. Aro, Abnormal Plene Writings in the Akkadian Texts (Helsinki, 1953); see also e.g. O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, Mathematical Cuneiform Texts (New Haven, 1945), pp. 146-147 and other references in HK L III, para. 121, pp. 139-141.



or libraries, as has been discussed by G. R. Driver.<sup>1</sup> None of these aspects of the work of the scribe concern the actual physical layout of the text as it was written by him. Since the latter aspect is the primary concern of this thesis, the other aspects will not be discussed here except as relevant.

Some areas of scribal technique concerning the organization and form of the actual text, while having been studied to some extent by others, require a re-examination, which will be the aim of this thesis. For example, the writing of individual symbols is relevant when they are used as abbreviations.<sup>2</sup> Symbols used to represent numerals will also be studied.<sup>3</sup>

A main area of interest here will be those indicators which mark divisions within the text. Inquiry into division markers used between words has been undertaken by Millard<sup>4</sup> and Horwitz,<sup>5</sup> but no systematic work has been done on those which separate larger units, e.g. sentences or paragraphs.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 73-77, 238-239.

<sup>2</sup>The basic work on abbreviations in Hebrew and Aramaic has been done by G. R. Driver in Textus 1 (1960), pp. 112-131 and Textus 4 (1964), pp. 76-94; see also e.g. Colella, RB 80 (1973), pp. 546-548; Delavault and Lemaire, Semitica 25 (1975), pp. 31-41; Goldwasser and Naveh, IEJ 26 (1976), pp. 15-19; Fishbane, IDBS, pp. 3-4. On abbreviations in Akkadian, see Neugebauer, JCS 1 (1947), pp. 217-218.

<sup>3</sup>Work on this area in Hebrew and Aramaic has been done by Aharoni in BASOR 184 (1966), pp. 13-19; see also e.g. Allrik, BASOR 136 (1954), pp. 21-27; Kaufman, BASOR 188 (1967), pp. 39-41; Tsarfati, EM 5 (1968), pp. 170-185; Rainey, BASOR 202 (1971), pp. 23-29. For Ugaritic see e.g. Loewenstamm, Conference, pp. 172-179. For Akkadian, see e.g. Borger, Zeichenliste, pp. 373-374.

<sup>4</sup>Millard, JSS 15 (1970), pp. 2-15; see e.g. G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 42-43; Bezold, El-Amarna, p. XII; Hoftijzer in Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, Deir Alla, pp. 70-71, 79, 183.

<sup>5</sup>Horwitz, Wedge; see also e.g. Goetze, JBL 60 (1941), p. 354.

<sup>6</sup>Some work has already been done on the sentence level, e.g. G. R. Driver, Writing, pp. 43-44; paragraph level e.g. Andersen, Sentence, pp. 64-65, 78-79, 86-87; Bezold, El-Amarna, p. XII; Perrot, RB 76 (1969), pp. 50-91; Yeivin, Textus 7 (1969), pp. 76-102; and on higher levels, e.g. Andersen, Sentence, pp. 63-64, 79, 81, 86.

Related to these textual division indicators are the headings and colophons found in some documents. They indicate unit boundaries as well as describing the sections either by name or by subject matter. Studies of colophons which come at the end of an entire document have been undertaken mainly by Hunger,<sup>1</sup> but research still needs to be done on those colophons or subscripts which close a section within a larger document as well as on the use of headings such as titles and incipits.<sup>2</sup> Another aspect of marking textual divisions which has not been examined adequately is the use of genealogies to separate or relate sections of some texts.<sup>3</sup>

Not only were scribal notes added at either end of a document, they are also to be found within its body, offering an explanation of some point. Biblical scholars have commonly designated a large number of verses as 'glosses' and regarded them generally as later additions.<sup>4</sup> This thesis will study such records and related aetiological notes, which have been analysed

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<sup>1</sup>Hunger, Kolophone; idem, WO 6 (1970-1971), pp. 163-165; idem, ZA 62 (1972-1973), pp. 99-101; see also e.g. Leichty, 'Colophon', pp. 147-154; reviews of Hunger, Kolophone by Borger, 'Bemerkungen zu den akkadischen Kolophonen', WO 5 (1969-1970), pp. 165-171; Lambert in ibid., pp. 290-291; see also Andersen, Sentence, p. 54; Talmon and Fishbane, Tarbiz 42 (1972), pp. 27-41, English summary, pp. II-IV; Biggs, OrNS 36 (1967), pp. 55-66; Dietrich and Loretz, UF 4 (1972), pp. 31-33; Laroche, ArOr 17/2 (1949), pp. 7-13. See also the discussion by Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), pp. 42-59.

<sup>2</sup>Incipits: e.g. Albright, HUCA 23 (1950-1951), pp. 1-39; cf. idem, 'Notes', pp. 1-12; Cohen, Balag, pp. 5-6; Superscripts: Tucker, 'Superscripts'; pp. 56-70; cf. Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), pp. 42-59.

<sup>3</sup>See Wilson, Genealogy, pp. 207-215 for an extensive bibliography.

<sup>4</sup>G. R. Driver, 'Glosses', pp. 123-162; see also e.g. Seale, ExT 67 (1955-1956), pp. 333-335; J. Weingreen, JSS 2 (1957), pp. 149-162; idem, IDBS, pp. 437-438. For extra-biblical texts, see Schwartz, ArOr 10 (1938), pp. 65-78; Artzi, Bar Ilan 1 (1963), pp. 24-57; Krahmalkov, JNES 30 (1971), pp. 140-143.

previously by Fichtner, Golka, and Long.<sup>1</sup> As well as providing explanatory notes, scribes also included helps to reading, such as phonetic complements to ideograms and indications of the presence of foreign words or translations of them. These will be discussed here, especially as they related to the Old Testament.

This study will restrict itself mainly to prose material. While poetry is a significant element of biblical and other Semitic literature, conventions regarding it, especially in such areas as textual division, are different due to their poetic nature. This area would be the subject of another major study.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars have noted individual aspects of these various techniques in special studies or in the course of commentaries on different texts. There is a further need for a synthesis of material concerning these selected

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<sup>1</sup>Fichtner, VT 6 (1956), pp. 372-396; Golka, VT 20 (1970), pp. 90-98; idem, VT 26 (1976), pp. 410-428; idem, VT 27 (1977), pp. 36-47; Long, Narrative; see also e.g. Gunkel, Genesis, pp. XXIII-XXVII; Albright, BASOR 74 (1939), pp. 12-17; Bright, Israel, pp. 91-100; Seeligmann, Zion 26 (1961), pp. 141-169; Mowinckel, Tetrateuch, p. 81; Westermann, Forschung, pp. 39-47; Eissfeldt, Old Testament, pp. 38-39; Wilcoxon, 'Narrative', pp. 62, 82-98.

<sup>2</sup>Thus there will be no systematic discussion of many of the descriptions of the Psalms nor of the material found in Psalm headings. The research concerning this area is extensive, see e.g. S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien IV (Kristiana, 1923); J. M. Vosté, 'Sur les titres des Psaumes dans la Pešittā', Bibl 25 (1944), pp. 210-235; N. H. Tur-Sinai, 'The Literary Character of the Book of Psalms', OTS 8 (1950), pp. 263-268; H. D. Preus, 'Die Psalmenüberschriften in Targum and Midrasch', ZAW 71 (1959), pp. 44-54; S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship II (Oxford, 1962), pp. 207-217; L. Delekat, 'Probleme der Psalmenüberschriften', ZAW 76 (1964), pp. 280-297; J. J. Glueck, 'Some Remarks on the Introductory Notes of the Psalms', Studies on the Psalms (Potschefstroom, 1963), pp. 30-39; J. F. A. Sawyer, 'An Analysis of the Context and Meaning of the Psalm Titles', GUOS Trans 22 (1967-1968), pp. 26-38; R. A. F. Mackenzie, 'Ps 148, 14bc: Conclusion or Title?', Bibl 51 (1970), pp. 221-224; B. S. Childs, 'Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis', JSS 16 (1971), pp. 137-150; F. F. Bruce, 'The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation', OTS 17 (1972), pp. 40-52; E. Slomovic, 'Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms', ZAW 91 (1979), pp. 350-380; A. Pietersma, 'David in the Greek Psalms', VT 30 (1980), pp. 213-226.

aspects of scribal practice in the Hebrew Old Testament, and a comparison of them with similar conventions used in the literary environment which moulded Israelite literature. Such a comparison involves a study of the techniques which were used by scribes in Mesopotamia and Syria. This study and comparison is the aim of this thesis.



## CHAPTER I

### Text Descriptions

Notes giving a description of a text can be placed either before the text or text-section being described in the form of a heading, or else at the end, in the form of a subscript. These two forms will be studied in the reverse order due to the more overt nature of some subscripts in ancient Near Eastern texts. The distinctive features of these two kinds of descriptions will be noted, as will their form. Common elements will be observed and comment will be made on their function as markers of textual boundaries in addition to that of indicating the textual content. This aspect of determining the limits of a text will be treated in detail in the next chapter of this thesis. It will also be seen whether it is possible to determine if these descriptions are the work of the original author or of a later copier.

#### A. SUBSCRIPTS

##### 1. COLOPHONS

Several studies have been recently undertaken into those text descriptions called 'colophons' which occur at the end of a document. In 1949, Wendel made a brief study of colophons as part of the art of book writing in the ancient Near East, especially Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Ugarit and Egypt,

comparing them with Greek and Roman practices.<sup>1</sup> In 1964, Leichty also made a preliminary study in which he set out to 'describe the general content of the colophon', especially in the NA and NB periods.<sup>2</sup> This work was followed through by Hunger in 1968. His goal was 'to cover all published Babylonian colophons'.<sup>3</sup> Hunger defined these colophons as 'a note by the scribe, separated from the text, which is at the end of a tablet of literary content, containing statements concerning this tablet and the people who had something to do with this tablet'.<sup>4</sup> He also briefly noted the content of the various colophons,<sup>5</sup> their historical development<sup>6</sup> and their relationship with non-Akkadian colophons, namely Hittite, Ugaritic, Greek and Hebrew,<sup>7</sup> before providing a transcription and translation of the colophons in Akkadian. He did not, however, reach his goal of presenting all of the corpus of colophons.<sup>8</sup> A collection of some colophons not listed by Hunger is included in Appendix A.

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1. Wendel, Buchbeschreibung, pp. 1-17, 98-105.
2. Leichty, 'Colophon', pp. 147-154.
3. Hunger, Kolophone, p. v. The numbers of Akkadian colophons given below will be those of Hunger.
4. Translated from ibid., p. 1.
5. Ibid., pp. 1-15.
6. Ibid., pp. 15-21.
7. Ibid., pp. 21-24.
8. Hunger admits that he does not include colophons which give only the line numbers or the title (p. 24), although a note of these would have been useful for a complete study. See the reviews of Borger and Lambert in WO 5 (1969-1970), pp. 165-171 and 290-291 respectively. The latter expresses caution in undertaking a study of the colophons without an adequate study of social history and textual transmission to explain the work of the scribes and the background of the texts themselves.

Gevaryahu builds on Hunger's findings in a study of the Hebrew OT, where he claims to find a number of colophons.<sup>1</sup> The present study seeks not only to evaluate his findings in relation to the colophons in Akkadian and Ugaritic, but will also involve the studies of other subscripts which occur after text-sections rather than at the end of an entire text. While these do not fit the exact definition of a colophon as generally given, a study of their form, content and location justifies their being called colophons.

a. AKKADIAN

Hunger, in his analysis of the text-final Akkadian colophons, has classified the information concerning the tablet into the following elements<sup>2</sup> (the items marked \* are elements which occur in colophons but have not been classified by Wendel, Leichty or Hunger):

a. Bibliographical information

1. Catchline, with the first line of the following tablet.
2. The number of the tablet in a series.
3. Title of the series or work.
4. Number of lines in the tablet.
5. Source of copy.
6. Scribal procedures, e.g. whether collated.
- 7.\* Kind of tablet, e.g. im.gíd.da.
- 8.\* Kind of text, e.g. pīrsu, šud<sub>x</sub>, šir.nam.sūb.
- 9.\* Contents.

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1. Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), pp. 42-59.

2. Hunger, Kolophone, p. 1, detailed in pp. 1-15; Leichty, 'Colophon', p. 147, detailed in pp. 148-154; cf. Wendell, Buchbeschreibung, pp. 2-3.



b. Personnel involved in the copying procedure

1. Scribe.
2. Owner of the tablet.
3. Source of information.
4. Collator.
- 5.\* Instigator.
- 6.\* Dedicatee.

c. Miscellaneous information

1. Purpose of the copy.
2. Wishes of the scribe.
3. Prayers or invocations calling for curses/blessings.
4. Date of copy.
5. Disposition of copy.
- 6.\* Locale of copy.

In the course of the study of colophons, reference will be made to these classification elements, i.e. a.1-c.6. Each colophon consists of one or more of these elements in no fixed order, although there are cases in which one element occurs more than once in the same colophon.<sup>1</sup>

Leichty stated that 'in the early periods, the colophon tended to be very simple and contained only a date, the number of lines in the composition or the scribe's name. In the later periods the colophon tended to be longer . . .'.<sup>2</sup> A study of Hunger's collection and other evidence shows that while the NA/NB colophons were at times longer than any found in prior

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1. E.g. line number twice in 13; two series titles in 80,91 - though these could be parts of two different series; see 84.

2. 'Colophon', p. 147.

periods (e.g. 87,90,91,105), some colophons from this period were short as well (e.g. 82,187,209,262). Of the OB and MB/MA colophons which Hunger listed, six (7%) have only one element,<sup>1</sup> seventeen (20%) have two,<sup>2</sup> and the remaining sixty-one (73%) have more than two elements, five (6%) having ten elements.<sup>3</sup> Thus, although Leichty's statement is true in general, the number of elements is not a totally reliable indication of the date of the colophon. As has been noted by others, Akkadian colophons as a rule do not mention the name of the author of a text.<sup>4</sup> As well as those texts from Mesopotamia itself, some Akkadian texts from the peripheral areas such as Nuzi,<sup>5</sup> Ugarit<sup>6</sup> and Sultantepe<sup>7</sup> also have colophons.<sup>8</sup>

One colophon at the end of the seventh and last tablet of the Akkadian lexical list ana ittišu is worthy of note.<sup>9</sup> As well as recording information

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1. 27,28,48,49,53,82.

2. 8,10,20,21,30-36,39,63,64,67,68,71.

3. 43.

4. Lambert, JCS 11 (1957), pp. 1-14; cf. JCS 16 (1962), pp. 59-77 where he notes some texts attributed to one Bulluṣsa-rabi (p. 66 v 3-4, vi 1-2); see also Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), p. 44. In Hittite religious literature, priestesses are at times named as authoresses - see KUB 35, 37-41 (cf. the review by R. Labat, AfO 17(1954/6), p. 152). See p. 47, n. 1.

5. E.g. CT 51, 1 and 2 (cf. Appendix A, pp. 345-359).

6. E.g. a Hurrianized Akkadian text in Ug V, p. 463:11, see IDBS, p. 611 (Appendix A, pp. 345-359).

7. E.g. STT 84.

8. See Wendel, Buchbeschreibung, p. 9; Hunger, Kolophone, p. 22. It has been stated regarding the Sumerian texts from Abu-Salabikh that 'it appears probable that all literary and lexical texts (with the exception of exercise tablets) bore colophons' (R. D. Biggs, Inscriptions From Tell Abu Salabikh [Chicago, 1974], p. 33).

9. MSL 1, p. 104:23-25; Hunger, Kolophone, 59.

concerning the series, the text's vorlage and the scribal activity related to it (11.24-25), it also records the catch-line sag.ba: māmītu.<sup>1</sup> The interesting point concerning this colophon is not that it has a catch-line, which is common in tablets which are part of a series in order to indicate that they are part of such,<sup>2</sup> but that it occurs on this, the last tablet of the series. The catch-line could indicate that in the tradition preserved by Ashurbanipal, the tablets were in a different order than at other places. This could well be the case because an Assur colophon at the end of the tablet which is the sixth in this series according to the Ashurbanipal recension reads (53) dub 7 kam ki.ulutin.bi.šè ana ittišu (54) šu.nigin 3-šu mu.bi.im (55) al.til (MSL 1, p. 89). This colophon does not have a catch-line and indicates that the series is 'complete' (al.til) with it. The colophon of the seventh tablet of the Ninivite recension, however, could also indicate that the series itself is part of some larger series or cycle. An example of this is the colophon in CT 18, 47a (Hunger, 59) which gives the catch-line enūma ilu awilum as being on the next, i.e. second tablet, in the series. This is the incipit of Atra-ḥasis, the main recension of which has this as the first line of the first tablet. This shows that in at least one NA recension, the Atra-ḥasis epic was part of a larger unit.<sup>3</sup> This inclusion of one series within another does not appear to be rare as indicated by the

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1. This catch-line was not noted by Hunger nor was the preceding comment sadīršu igi-ma la urri even though they are separated from the text body and joined into one unit to the rest of the colophon by a line; it is noted as a catch-line by CAD M<sub>I</sub>, p. 190 sub māmītu, lexical section.

2. For further discussion of the catch-line, see pp. 69-79.

3. Lambert-Millard, Atra-ḥasis, p. 35; see B. Landsberger, AfO Beih. 1 (1933), pp. 170-178; C. J. Gadd, Iraq 4 (1937), pp. 33-34; J. Laessøe, BiOr 13 (1956), pp. 98-99. These cases were pointed out to me by Professor D. J. Wiseman.

colophons of the form 'tablet X of series A, tablet Y of series B'.<sup>1</sup> This could indicate a linguistic level of Akkadian literature one step higher than the series, possibly uniting several works of the same genre.

#### b. UGARITIC

Ten texts in Ugaritic also have colophons. Four of these were noted by Wendel.<sup>2</sup> All probably contained the scribe's name, i.e. ilmlk (KTU 1.4 and 1.17 are broken). Three contain the verb t'y which has been interpreted as meaning 'collated' (KTU 1.4; 1.6).<sup>3</sup> All of these colophons are separated from the body of the text either by being on the side of the tablet or by a line (1.6).

Other tablets also contain elements found in colophons. These are separate from the body of the text, either being on the edge (KTU 4.68; 4.102; 4.229) or set off by a line (KTU 2.19; 4.166; 4.333). Two of these colophons on tablets containing lists written in Ugaritic are in Akkadian. One describes the content as 'a tablet of bowmen' (a. 8, KTU 4.68),<sup>4</sup> and the other (KTU 4.102) is a census list giving a city name with the beginning of the line broken ([...] <sup>uru</sup>Alašia <sup>[ki]</sup>), so it is not clear whether the colophon was a person's name with epithet (element b) or the locale of the copy (c.6). Gordon (UT, p. 262) adopts the latter view, seeing this as a census of this town. A list of various merchandise is concluded by the line d.ġlkz 'of Ġlkz' (KTU 4.333). Virolleaud, in PRU V, p. 145, interprets this to mean that this

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1. E.g. Hunger, Kolophone, no. 81, 84, 95, 108, 125-127, 138 and passim.
2. KTU 1.4 - cf. TO, p. 221; 1.6 - cf. Hunger, Kolophone, p. 22; TO, p. 271; 1.16 - cf. TO, p. 574; 1.17 - cf. TO, p. 434.
3. See Dietrich and Loretz, UF 4 (1972), p. 32; Horwitz, UF 9 (1977), p. 124.
4. Ls tuppu erin.meš ša <sup>giš</sup>ban.meš.

was a list of goods belonging to this person, although another possibility is that this is the owner of the tablet itself, which would possibly mean the same thing. This is similar to tablets which are indicated as being l someone, which can be translated "to, for, belonging to, with reference to" someone and corresponds to the Hebrew l<sup>e</sup> with the same meanings which is part of some of the Psalm titles and is also on some seals.<sup>1</sup> These could be references to the person who owns the tablets, or to their dedicatees.

Two lists are marked by the line bd PN 'by, in the hand of PN' (KTU 4.166; 4.299). In the latter text, the note has been understood as being on the upper edge, i.e. the beginning, of the tablet (KTU, p. 252), the reverse of which is illegible, or on the bottom edge, following an illegible obverse (PRU II, p. 93). It could also be the ending of an illegible reverse and be part of the colophon. This line can be interpreted in two ways, either as indicating the person in control of the things listed<sup>2</sup> or as the scribe who wrote the list (b.1) in which the preposition b is understood as being instrumental.<sup>3</sup> Another possible colophon which has not received previous comments is on the edge of a document of manumission (KTU 2.19). It reads: 'it (is) a royal document, to be kept (lit. 'in the hand of') by ṣṭqšlm forever'.<sup>4</sup> The nature of the document (a.7) is given along with its disposition (c.5). It follows the body of the text, separated from it by a line.<sup>5</sup> The

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1. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 1367 sub ḥḏḏḏ, 1393-1394 sub ṭṭṭṭ, 1512 sub ḥḥḥ; cf. pp. 25, 68-69 For seals, see passim in the study of Herr, Scripts.

2. See Virolleaud in PRU<sup>II</sup>, p. 143; cf. UT, p. 383, 633.

3. See UT, para. 10.4 for this use of the preposition.

4. (13) spr.mlk.hnd (14) byd.ṣṭqšlm (15) ‘d ‘lm.

5. See PRU II, p. 17.

only feature distinguishing this colophon from those previously noted is the initial demonstrative pronoun and, which will be shown to be also an element in Hebrew colophons, even though not common in Akkadian (see pp. 32, 34, 37, 41-42).

c. ARAMAIC

Colophonic elements in Aramaic texts take a slightly different place from those found in Akkadian and Ugaritic texts. They can occur toward the end of a document, although usually not as the last item. They also are notes on the outside of the scroll on which the document was written, which might also be considered as headings (see pp. 94ff).

Most of the relevant Aramaic texts are legal documents, e.g. loans, contracts, etc. The colophon elements which occur in the endorsement can contain these elements: (1) kind of document, simply ספר 'written document', used to designate each such endorsed text (a.7),<sup>1</sup> (2) contents (a.8),<sup>2</sup> and (3 and 4) two peoples or groups of people, one being the subject of the verb כתב and the other preceded by the preposition ל 'to, for, belonging to'.<sup>3</sup> The colophon elements within the body of the text, which are followed by the list of witnesses,<sup>4</sup> contain these elements: (1) a person who is subject of the verb כתב (2) document type, usually with an anaphoric pronoun ('this document', ספרא זנה a.7), (3) locale (c.6), (4) source person ('according

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1. AP [2?], 5,8,10,13,14,20,25,28,59. Some are more specifically designated 'a document of renunciation (מרמק)', AP 6,14,25 or 'aff/davit (מרמה)', AP 59. Cf. similar headings, pp. 94ff.

2. AP 5, 'concerning a wall which he built'; 8, 'concerning a house'; 10, 'concerning the money of a contract' (כסף דנה - see pp. 107-109); 28, 'concerning the allocation (פלגא 'division') of a slave'.

3. See pp. 24, 68-69.

4. In three cases (AP 11, 46 and H. Bauer and B. Meissner, 'Ein aramäische Pachtvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius' I', Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. Philol. - hist. Kl. (1936), pp. 414-424, cited from (continued. . .)

to the mouth of' **נפם על פם** . A comparison of the personnel (b) of the internal and external colophonic elements shows that the person who 'wrote' the document according to the body was probably the scribe who actually wrote out the text, while the one who was said to have written the document according to the endorsement was the person who instigated the text since he is invariably one of the people involved in the legal matter under discussion and is also the one who was the source person in the text body.<sup>1</sup> The endorsement of AP 13, the record of the gift of a house by a father to his daughter, is of a different form than the others noted. It reads **ספר במחסייה... [ומפמחי]ה**

**ברתה** , where the preposition **ל** means 'concerning' and both of the parties are apparently simply conjoined rather than their relationship within

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(continued) . . . DAE, p. 74), the witnesses precede the 'colophon' elements, leaving them to occupy the last position in the text; cf. Yaron, Law, p. 12, where he also includes AP 1, which, he claims, is lacking the last two lines, one with a witness' name, and one with the scribe, but this proposal is only based on a parallel with AP 11. See also the remarks in DAE, p. 78, n.e.

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1. The text-body elements of AP 5 read: **כתב פלטיה בר אחיר ספרא זנה כפס: קרניה** . When compared with the endorsement **ספר אנרא זי זנה זי כתב קרניה (למחסה)** , the following observations can be made. Pelatiyah, who is said to have written the text in the body, does not appear in the endorsement. Qoniyah, who appears in both places, is given two different functions; in the body he is the source and in the endorsement, the author. It would appear from this, and from his being one of the parties legally involved, that he in fact was the one for whom and at whose direction, and possibly dictation, the document was drawn up, so he was seen as the author in the endorsement, which was simply to indicate the parties involved in the legal case (see Yaron, Law, p. 15). The text was actually written, however, by a scribe, Pelatiyah. Since he was not party to the legal aspects of the text itself, he is not mentioned in the endorsement, but his name is given in the body of the text, along with all the others involved with the action, i.e. the witnesses (*ibid*, p. 25). One text (AP 2; cf. the parallel AP 3) is a receipt for grain received. The body indicates that the recipients of the grain were Hoshea and Ahiab and the one being issued the receipt was Espemet. These parties occur in the expected position in the endorsement (**[ספרא זי] כתב הושע וא[חיאב] לאספ[מט]**). The body of the text shows that Hoshea not only was a party in the receipt, but he was also the scribe who wrote the document (**כתב הושע על פם אחיאב**).

the transaction being shown. Another variation is found in BP 12 in which only the 'writer' is named but not the other party.

It is not clear whether these Aramaic examples should be considered colophons. They are usually not at the end of the document as were those mentioned above, nor do they have the variations found in the Akkadian colophons, but this could be because they do not come from the extended period of time of the Akkadian examples. Also, Akkadian or Ugaritic colophons are not found on such binding legal contracts except if they were used as school copying exercises since they are not usually the kind of document which would be copied and so no source information would be needed. Since the information concerning the scribe and his source is found on all of these texts, this information, though similar to that found in colophons elsewhere, could simply be part of the fixed, legal form necessary for a valid document, since all involved parties would need to be indicated. The endorsement, however, appearing on the outside of the scroll, would have been visible for consultation without opening up the scroll itself. It was apparently placed there as a reference to aid in selecting the correct document if it was needed for consultation at a later date.<sup>1</sup>

#### d. HEBREW

Gevaryahu posits colophons in the OT which are different from those studied earlier in this thesis in that they occur at the beginning of a text and also contain the name of an author.<sup>2</sup> Before analysing the claims of Gevaryahu, a study will be made of those OT passages which have parallels to

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1. See Yaron, Law, p. 24. This reference function also appears for the headings of texts and text-sections, as will be argued below, pp. 154, 395-401.

2. VTSup 28 (1975), pp. 42-59.



Akkadian and Ugaritic colophons without these two anomalies.

#### i. End of a Book

There is only one instance in the OT in which one book ends with words which are repeated at the beginning of another book. 2 Chr 36:22-23 and

Ezra 1:1-3a read:<sup>1</sup> (22) ובשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס לכלאח דבר-יהוה

בפי (מפי) ירמיהו (ירמיה) העיר יהוה את-רוח כורש (כרש) מלך-פרס

ויעבר-קול בכל-מלכותו וגם במכתב לאמר: (23) כה(ם)-אמר כורש (כרש)

מלך פרס כל(ם)-ממלכות הארץ נתן לי יהוה אלהי השמים

זהו-אפקד עלי לבנות-לו בית בירושלים אשר

ביהודה(;) מי-בכם מכל-עמו יהוה (יהי) אלהיו עמו ויעל: (לירושלים...)

Harrison pointed out the parallels between these verses and the catch-line

found in some Akkadian colophons.<sup>2</sup> As Williamson noted, this would only be a colophon-type catch-line if Chronicles and Ezra were originally one work.<sup>3</sup>

He convincingly argued that the two are in fact separate works, with the last two verses of Chronicles being a later *addition* from Ezra.<sup>4</sup>

In the current, canonical form of the books these verses serve as a catch-line, but they are only secondary. There are therefore no proven original parallels to the Akkadian catch-line at the end of any Hebrew OT book.<sup>5</sup>

Are there any other elements of the colophon found in this end position in the Bible? In the MT, later additions of the Massoretes are colophons giving the number of verses and pericopes in each work as well as the

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1. Quoted from 2 Chr. Bracketed forms are variants found in Ezra.

2. Harrison, Introduction, p. 1169.

3. Williamson, Israel, p. 8.

4. Ibid., pp. 5-70. See Harris, JETS (1971), pp. 173-174.

5. The repetition of the verses in Ezra is significant as regards the theological interpretation of Ezra in the continuity of Israel's history; see Childs, Introduction, p. 632.

midpoint, but these additions are too late to be of relevance to our study.<sup>1</sup> One would expect colophons to occur at the end of one work which was in some way a unity with another, such as Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. It was shown above that there is no actual colophon between Chronicles and Ezra, nor is there one between Ezra and Nehemiah. Several books of the OT exhibit a chronological continuity such as Joshua-Judges and Samuel-Kings. While there are indications of unity between these, and other books, usually in the form of adverbial time references to the preceding work 'in the days of/when X happened' (Jos 1:1 refers to Deut 34:5; Jdg 1:1 to Jos 24:29; Ruth 1:1 to Jdg; 2 Sam 1:1 to 1 Sam 31:4; cf. 2 Ki 1:1 to 1 Ki 22:37), there is no indication at the end of the first of these two work pairs that there might be a sequel, nor is there any other colophonic material.<sup>2</sup> It could be argued that some of these works could have been written on the same papyrus, or other material, so that a colophon would not be needed. This could have been the case with some of the shorter books, but is not likely for those which are longer, although even this is not impossible since in LQIs<sup>a</sup> all sixty-six chapters of Isaiah were included on one scroll.<sup>3</sup> The historical unity of Deuteronomy-Kings as indicated by the adverbial time references is too long a work to be on any scroll so it would have needed to be recorded on more than one scroll,

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1. The exact date of these colophons is unknown, but they are found in the 9th century AD Ben-Asher text, as reflected in the Leningrad manuscript B 19<sup>A</sup> used in BHS. Information similar to that included in these colophons is recorded in the Talmud (Kid. 30a; Ned. 38a) and other early Jewish literature (see Ginsburg, Introduction, p. 70).

2. Harris (JETS 14 [1971], p. 176) sees 'the custom of the later historical writers to add a brief footnote to the preceding book to give it the appropriate conclusion'.

3. See Burrows, Isaiah.

but no colophon linking material exists.

There are some elements of similarity with Akkadian colophons in the last verse of Hosea (Hos 14:10) which is not part of some larger composite work:<sup>1</sup>

'Whoever is wise, may he understand these things; understanding, may he know them. For the ways of Yahweh are straightforward and righteous people walk in them, but, as for the rebels, they will trip them'.<sup>2</sup> The first two clauses in the verse being modal statements have parallels in the Akkadian colophons with a wish element (c.2), especially those which read 'may the learned show them to the learned, the unlearned may not see'.<sup>3</sup> As in these colophons so in Hosea, the knowledgeable person will gain in knowledge, but not the incompetent. Rather than being in the form of a precative curse or blessing as in the Akkadian colophon, the second half of Hos 14:10 is in the form of a declaration.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The single collection of the twelve minor prophets is not due to any idea that they are in any way a unity.

2. The use of the pronoun 'D as indefinite (König, Lehrgebaude, para. 382b, 390p; GK, para. 137 rem.; Brockelmann, Syntax, para. 157; Williams, Syntax, para. 121.) in this passage is accepted by many commentators (e.g. Harper, Amos, p. 147; Rudolph, Hosea, p. 253; Mays, Hosea, p. 253), as is the possibility of it being interrogative (Rudolph, Hosea, p. 253), which in this case would result in much the same meaning (see O.R. Schwarzwald, 'Complementary Distribution and Shift in the Syntax of "Who" Abstract' (Hebrew), BetM 24 (1978), pp. 81-88). Wolff, however, interprets the first Hebrew line as two questions, noting the translation of the LXX and the Vulgate (Wolff, Hosea, p. 239). He objects to Brockelmann's interpretation of the pronoun as indefinite on the grounds only of parallels which are ~~W~~ clause. Those examples in GK para 137 rem. are not of this type. Even the examples cited by Wolff (Jer 9:11; Ps 107:43) are not of the ~~W~~ clause type (cf. also Jdg 7:3) and so provide parallels, even exact parallels in the case of Ps 107:43, since they too are of the form pronoun+adjective. Wolff's objection is thus not substantiated.

3. Hunger, Kolophone, p. 163 sub idû for references.

4. Called 'a didactic sentence' by Wolff, Hosea, p. 239.

Many commentators have interpreted this verse as a later addition to Hosea.<sup>1</sup> The verse is discontinuous with the previous section due to its indefinite subject as compared to the specific peoples referred to by a speaker whose words are recorded in the first person in the preceding verses. The possibility of an addition, later or contemporary, is allowable if the verse is the remnant of a colophon, since these were added to copies of texts which were written some time previously. This does not, however, necessarily validate Wolff's assertion that the verse was added long after Hosea's lifetime. Rather, the prophetic nature of Hosea's words could have been seen by their editor, possibly a student, who added the last verse even during the prophet's lifetime.<sup>2</sup> Apart from these two possible parallels to Akkadian colophons, one of which was shown to be illusory, there are no proven colophonic type elements at the end of any of the OT books.

## ii. End of a Section

While studies have been made of the colophons in Akkadian and other languages, no systematic work has been undertaken into the occurrence of some of these same elements found in colophons which also occur within the body of the text. These are much too numerous in the literature under discussion to even exhaustively note all of the examples, but a study will be undertaken

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1. Harper, Amos, p. 416 'from a late period'; Wolff, Hosea, p. 239 'quite far removed from Hosea's lifetime, and also from the original draft of the original transmission complexes', 'composed as a special conclusion to the book of Hosea'; Rudolph, Hosea, p. 253 'der Nachtrag eines Weisheitslehrers'; Mays, Hosea, p. 190 'the last addition to the written form of the book and was added in the exilic or post-exilic period'. See Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), p. 55 for an interpretation of this verse as a colophon.

2. A similar wish element is found at the end of the New Testament in the last few verses of Revelation. Rev 22:18-19 read 'If anyone adds to them (i.e., the words of this book) may God add to him the plagues which are written in this book. If anyone takes away words of this prophecy, may God take away his part of the tree of life and the holy city, which are written in this book.'

here of a sample of these internal 'colophons'. Some of these are in the form of a single element, such as the mention of the text-type 'eternal rule' after the regulations concerning the bread in the Tent of Meeting (Lev 24:9), while some such as Lev 7:37-38 (discussed below, pp. 34-38 ) have a number of these elements, just as the colophons already studied.

(a.) Akkadian

In Akkadian ritual texts, some of which have terminal colophons as noted by Hunger, there are at times portions of the body of the text which contain colophon elements and which separate different sections of the text. For example, in a Seleucid copy of the ritual concerning the covering of the kettle-drum (AO. 6479; RAcc., pp. 3-6), a colophon (Hunger, 109) describes the entire text. Within the body of the text, however, there is another colophon section which follows the description of the ritual of purification for the drum (iii 15-28) and precedes a list of the equipment needed for the entire ritual (iv 2-34). It reads: 'this ritual which a student<sup>1</sup> may see, a stranger, one who is not a member of the cult, may not see; may his days be shortened. May one who knows show it to one who knows. One who does not know may not see. Of the taboo of Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods'. This contains the elements: (1) content (a.8), (2) anaphoric pronoun used attributively, (3) wishes concerning restricted readership (c.2) and a (4) taboo clause. These last two elements are common in Akkadian colophons.<sup>2</sup> They are at times found as the only two

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1. tarbûtu - AHW, p. 1328; cf. CAD A<sub>I</sub>, p. 211 sub ahû 1 a, 'member of the family'.

2. See Hunger, Kolophone, p. 163 sub idû, ikkibu; RLA 3, pp. 188-191 sub 'Geheimwissen'.

colophononic elements, as they are here.<sup>1</sup> In TuL 27:30, these two elements again occur in the body of a ritual text, separating two different rituals. They are preceded and followed by a line showing their separation from the text body itself.

A further example is found after a prayer to Bēl in the NB text concerning the New Year Festival (DT 15, RAcc., p. 149). Single lines set off the colophon from the preceding prayer and the following ritual. The colophon itself reads: 'It has 21 lines; secret of the Esagil temple. For Bēl. It may not be shown except to a priest of the Ekua temple' (i 33-34) and contains the number of lines, (a.4), the text-type (a.7), the dedicatee/addressee (b.6), and a wish concerning restricted readership (c.2). The last element is in a different form from that generally found in colophons in that it more strictly limits readership. The function appears to be the same as in other colophons. It seems that this prayer, which would probably have had an existence outside of this edition of the festival, was included in this ritual text in its entirety, along with its colophon.

(b.) Hebrew

Most scholars would agree that the OT books do not represent works which were composed initially as a document in their present form, but rather were derived from source documents, although the exact nature of these documents and the history of the transmission of the traditions is still under dispute. Recognizing these source documents, it may well be possible to find colophons or colophononic elements within the body of an OT book, and not simply at its end, that is, where they occur at the end of one of the original

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1. E.g. Hunger, 562; also TuL 26:66 (not separated from the text body by a line or space as others). Cf. Hos 14:10, pp. 30-31.

sources. A study of Lev 1-7 shows this to be the case. The ritual instructions in Lev 1-7 (P) are a distinct unit, separated from what precedes and follows by subject matter, which also divides this section into paragraphs.<sup>1</sup> The section is also divided from the preceding book by a heading with other headings marking internal sections, as will be discussed in Chapter II. The last two verses of Chapter 7 (37-38) form a subscript to the chapters. They read: (37) זאת התורה לעלה ולמנחה ולחטאת ולאשם ולמלוואים (38) אשר צוה יהוה את משה ביום צאתו את בני ישראל להקריב את-קרבן-העשמים: (38) אשר צוה יהוה את משה ביום צאתו את בני ישראל להקריב את-קרבן-העשמים: 'This is the ritual for the burnt-offering, for the cereal-offering, for the sin-offering, for the guilt-offering, for the 'filling'-offering<sup>2</sup> and for the peace-offering, (38) which Yahweh commanded Moses on Mt Sinai, on the day which he commanded the Israelites to sacrifice their sacrifices to Yahweh in the Sinai desert'.

This subscript contains the following elements, some of which have the Akkadian parallels indicated: an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, the type of text, i.e. 'ritual' (a.7), the text contents, as rituals (cf. a.3; a.8), the source or instigator, i.e. Yahweh (b.3 or 5), the scribe, or agent (b.1),

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1. Lev 1-7, dealing with sacrificial ritual instructions, are distinct from the closing, narrative chapters of the preceding book, which concern the erection and consecration of the sanctuary (Exod 35:4-40:38), and from the following chapters concerning priestly investiture (Lev 8:1-9:24). All three of these sections are in turn part of a larger unit, the material concerning the wilderness wanderings. Subject matter also divides Lev 1-7 into several paragraphs, all concerning sacrifice but each dealing with a different one. The continuity between sections is more specifically shown by the resumption of the activity at the Tent of Meeting (1:1), the scene of the close of Exod 40; cf. Snaith, Leviticus, p. 28.

2. A nominal term from the clause ללא יד 'to fill the hand' formed by the elision of the body part. This is an idiom for the installation of things dedicated to God, e.g. a priest (Exod 28:41; 29 passim); Levites (Exod 32:29; 2 Chr 29:31); an altar (Ezek 43:26). Cf. de Vaux, Israel, pp. 346-347. See Appendix B for a discussion of the inclusion of this offering in these verses.

the locale of copy, i.e. Mt Sinai (c.6) and the copy's date, i.e. 'on the day which . . . ' (c.4).

Fishbane calls v. 37 a 'resumptive subscript' of all of the ritual instructions in Lev 6-7.<sup>1</sup> He also notes that the order of the sacrifices follows that of the prescriptive, administrative series of these chapters rather than that of the didactic series of Lev 1-5.<sup>2</sup> While Fishbane noted the resumptive character of Lev 7:37 he did not make mention of the next verse being part of the subscript as well. It too provides colophonic elements like those noted on pp. 19-20.

The writer of the subscript refers to a commandment to the Israelites in the date element, i.e. 'on the day in which he commanded the Israelites to offer their offerings to Yahweh' (Lev 7:38, cf. p.36). The most immediate commandment to the Israelites to which this could refer is that concerning the peace offerings (7:29b-34) which is directed to them ('speak to the Israelites', v 29a). While this is closest in proximity to the subscript, the commandment only concerns one type of offering, while the reference in the concluding formula is to the plural, i.e. 'their sacrifices' (קרבניהם). In Lev 1-5, however, there are rituals for five sacrifices. All of them have the general heading קרבן (1:2; cf. p.219). These ritual instructions are directed to the people of Israel ('speak to the Israelites', 1:2) rather than to the priests, as are the majority of the instructions in Lev 6-7. The commandment which the writer of Lev 7:38 refers to is thus the entire section of chapters 1-5. Lev 7:37-38 therefore serves as a subscript for the entire

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1. Fishbane, HUCA 45 (1974), p. 32.

2. For a discussion of the difference in order and terminology, see Rainey, Bibl. 51 (1970), pp. 485-498, 'Sacrifice', pp. 201-202.



section of Lev 1-7.<sup>1</sup>

As it now stands, a resumptive subscript similar to that of 7.37-38 does not immediately follow Lev 1-5. While there might never have been one, the form of Lev 7:37-38 could well indicate that it is an amalgamation of two subscripts. V. 38b, referring to Lev 1-5, contains elements parallel to those in the subscript referring to chapters 6-7, i.e. vv. 37-38a. These include the source or instigator (b.3 or 5), i.e. 'his commanding', with the suffixed pronoun referring to Yahweh, the scribe<sup>(b.1)</sup> who is implicit as the agent through whom the instructions are given although not explicitly stated, the locale (c.6) and the date (c.4), since בִּירוֹחַ which introduces v. 38b relates vv. 27-28a to 28b.<sup>2</sup> While the superscript of neither passage refers to the Sinai desert which is mentioned in 7:38b (cf. 1:1), the book itself takes part in a tradition that arose there according to Exod 34:29-35:1, which precedes these sacrificial laws.

Lev 7:38b describes Lev 1-7 as a unit of instruction given at one time. Lev 7:22-27 and 28-36 which are directed to the Israelites, were thus given at the same time as chapters 1-5, which concern them as well. Although they all concern the people as a whole, the instructions in chapter 7 may have been interpolated into the present position among priestly instructions owing to their association with the matters under discussion. As Cassuto noted,

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1. Cf Keil and Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 331; Meyrick, Leviticus, p. 102; Snaith, Leviticus, p. 62. Contra Kennedy, Leviticus, p. 69 ('colophon of . . . vi. 8-vii. 36'); Bertholet, Leviticus, p. 18 ('Cap. 6 [abweichend von Cap. 1-5]'); Chapman and Streane, Leviticus, p. 41 (6:8-8[!]:34); Noth, Leviticus, p. 65 ('probably a later concluding formula to Chs. 6.8-7.38'). NB. Lev 6:1 MT=6:8 EVV.

2. Chapman and Steane, Leviticus, p. 41, n. 1 'it is possible that the last clause of v. 38 may refer to Chs. i.-vi. 7.'

apparently unrelated text sections are juxtaposed precisely because of associated ideas, words, or expressions.<sup>1</sup> In this case, the priests eating sacrificial flesh in Lev 7:19-21 is associated with the people eating fat and blood in vv. 22-27, and the priestly portion of the peace offering in 7:28-36 is associated with the general instructions for the peace offerings in vv. 11-18, so they occur together. In form, content and location in relation to the rest of the text, Lev 7:37-38 corresponds to the colophons which occur at the end of a text. The 'colophon' here in Leviticus serves to bring one text section to a close before continuing on to another matter.<sup>2</sup>

As Lev 7:37-38 closed the first seven chapters of the book, so 7:35-36 serve a shorter section. The verses read (35) זאת משחת אהרן ומשחת בניו מאשי יהוה ביום הקריבם להם לכהן ליהוה: (36) אשר צוה יהוה לתת להם ביום משחו אתם מאת : This is the portion of Aaron and the portion of his sons from the fire-offerings of Yahweh on the day in which he brought them to serve as priests for Yahweh, which Yahweh commanded to be given by the Israelites when he anointed them: An eternal rule for their generations.' The colophonic elements of these verses are in a different order than those in vv. 37-38. Those found in both are the anaphoric pronoun, text content (a.9),<sup>3</sup> the source person (Yahweh; b.3), the date ('when he anointed them';

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1. Cassuto, Studies I, pp. 1-6.

2. Final summaries or colophons have been called concluding titles by Andersen, Sentence, p. 54. Lev 7:37-38 are called a colophon by Kennedy, Leviticus, p. 69, but only of 6:8-7:36; cf. p. 36, n. 1.

3. מִשְׁחָה : 'portion'; cf. Akk mašīhu 'measurement' (CAD M<sub>I</sub>, pp. 366-367; AHW., p. 626), mašāhu 'to measure' (*ibid.*, p. 623, CAD M<sub>I</sub>, pp. 352-353) - so most translations and commentators. It could not refer to 6:12-16, which concerns the offering to be made when Aaron is anointed ( בְּיוֹם הַמִּשְׁחָה אֹתוֹ ) since all of this offering is burnt and nothing would remain for the use of the priests.

c.4) the text-type ('eternal rule'; a.7) and the purpose of the copy ('for their generations';<sup>1</sup> c.1). These verses refer most immediately to the priestly dues from the peace-offering in 7:28-34,<sup>2</sup> but could also refer to the other sacrificial portions reserved for the priests' use which are mentioned in Lev 6-7 (i.e. 6:9-11, 19, 22; 7:6-10, 14-16).<sup>3</sup> The latter interpretation is supported by the strong verbal similarities between some of 7:35-36 and 6:11 regarding the text type and purpose (חֻק עֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם - 6:11 ; חֻק עֹלָם - 7:36 ; מַאֲשֵׁי יְהוָה - 7:35 ) as well as the material concerned (6:11; 7:35

It appears that these could be remnants of two textual layers in the colophons in 7:35-36 and 37-38. The latter colophon refers to all of the preceding seven chapters, while the former refers only to the priestly portions. These could have been details in a separate document arranged according to the different divisions needed for each offering. This was then amalgamated with the fuller presentation of the priestly procedures to be followed as related to sacrifice. The original colophon was retained, however, in addition to the more general one describing the resultant, more encompassing document. This suggestion is not provable but does explain the adjacent occurrence of two colophons having some overlap in the text described.

Similar 'colophons' are used in other legal passages, one of which, Lev 27:34, reads 'these are the commandments ( מִצְוֹת ) which Yahweh commanded Moses concerning the Israelites on Mt. Sinai.' This contains an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, the type (a.7), the instigator or source (b.3 or

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1. Cf. Hunger, Kolophone 493:3-ana šamê ša<sup>lú</sup> nišē arkūti 'for the hearing of future people'; cf. Eē vii 158, ana šamē arkūti.

2. So Keil and Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 330.

3. So Chapman and Streane, Leviticus, p. 40; Noth, Leviticus, p. 65; cf. Snaith, Leviticus, p. 61.

5), the addressee, the scribe or agent (b.1) and the locale (c.6). Commentators have seen this as a colophon for the 'Holiness Code' (17: 1-26:46; but see next paragraph)<sup>1</sup> or even of all of P.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case, the 'Israelites' in this colophon would also need to include the priests, to whom some passages in Leviticus and P are directed to the exclusion of the people in general. This could also simply be a colophon referring to chapter 27, which is directed explicitly to the Israelites and is seen by a number of commentators to be an appendix to Leviticus,<sup>3</sup> since the book itself seems to have its own colophon in 26:46.

Lev 26:46 is slightly more expanded than 27:34. It reads 'these are the rules ( חק ), the procedures ( משפט ) and the laws ( תורה ) which Yahweh established between himself and the Israelites on Mr. Sinai, through Moses' and contains the same elements as the last verse noted. It has been claimed that this verse is a colophon for the 'Holiness Code'<sup>4</sup> the heading of which specifically states that the laws are for Aaron, his sons and all of the Israelites.<sup>5</sup> It could also be argued that this verse refers to the entire book. This more encompassing reference is supported, though not proven, by the threefold designation of the text content (i.e. rules, laws and procedures) which is unique in the OT.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See Elliger, Leviticus p. 385; cf. Heinisch, Leviticus, p. 127.
2. So Chapman and Streane, Leviticus, p. 151 'the conclusion ...of the collection of 'commandments' contained in P,; cf. Noth, Leviticus, p. 204 'concluding formulae...link it...on to the Law-giving at Sinai'.
3. E.g Bertholet, Leviticus, p. 97; Heinisch, Leviticus, p. 126; Kennedy, Leviticus, p. 177,; Noth, Leviticus, p. 202.
4. See Kennedy, Leviticus, p. 177; Chapman and Streane, Leviticus, p. 150; Elliger, Leviticus, p. 371.
5. Lev 17:2.
6. See Elliger, Leviticus, p. 371.

Sections of the Holiness Code are referred to as 'rules' and 'laws' (חוק-Lev 24:9; מצוות-Lev 18:4, 5, 26; 19:15, 35, 37; 20:22; 24: 22; 26:15) but nowhere is any of this Code internally referred to as a 'procedure' (תורה). All three words occur in the rest of Leviticus as internal references, however,<sup>1</sup> supporting this interpretation that the verse refers to the entire book.

A legal passage in Num 36:13 concludes with a colophon which reads: 'these are the commandments (מצוות) and the laws (משפטים) which Yahweh commanded the Israelites by the hand of Moses, at the fords of Moab on the Jordan at Jericho'. Similar to other colophons already noted, this contains an anaphoric pronoun, the text content (a.8), the source or instigator (b. 3 or 5), the addressee, the scribe (b.1) and the locale (c.6). Commentators have variously interpreted the verse as being a subscript for all of P,<sup>2</sup> all of Numbers,<sup>3</sup> the final section of Numbers<sup>4</sup> or more specifically Num 22:1-36:12.<sup>5</sup> It appears that the first two suggestions can be easily dismissed since neither all of P nor all of Numbers is connected with the locale mentioned in this verse (cf. e.g. Num 1:1). Num 22:1 does record the Israelites encamping at the fords of Moab (cf. also 26:3, 63; 31:12; 22:44, 48-50; 35:1) but it does not appear that the subscript in 36:13 can refer to all of the passage following 22:1. While there are commandments and procedures in the intervening chapters

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1. חוק-6:11, 15; 7:34; 10:9, 11, 13, 14, 15; משפטים-5:10; 9:16; תורה-6:2, 7, 18; 7:1, 7, 11, 37, 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:2, 32, 54, 57; 15:32.

2. Holzinger, Numeri, p. 173.

3. Elliott-Binns, Numbers, p. 236.

4. Noth, Numbers, p. 258.

5. Dillmann, Numeri, p. 223; G.B. Gray, Numbers, p. 478; McNeile, Numbers, p. 190.

(e.g. 26:2, 52-56; 27:12-21; 28-30; 31:25-30; 33:50-34:29) the large connecting portions are not legal, but rather are narratives or lists. Therefore, the description of the text-type as 'commandments and procedures' in 36:13 would not be inclusive enough for 22:1-36:12. On the other hand, all of chapters 35 and 36 refer to laws or legal situations, so the subscript would better be interpreted as referring only to them. They are also said in Num 35:1 to have been given by Yahweh at the same locale as mentioned in the colophon, supporting this interpretation.

In Gen 5:1 there is a clause which has parallels with Aramaic as well as Akkadian and Ugaritic colophons. This verse begins זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת אָדָם 'this is the document of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of Adam (or 'mankind')'. A variation of this, i.e. אלה תולדות 'these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of X' occurs a further twelve times in the OT.<sup>1</sup> The main question regarding the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt formula concerns the referent of the demonstrative pronoun which it contains. Is the pronoun anaphoric, referring back to that which has been discussed previously, or is it precursive, referring to that which follows? In other words, does this formula bring the previous text section to a close, thus serving as a subscript or colophon, or does it start a new section, serving as a heading? The former possibility was suggested as early as Rashi (late eleventh cent. AD)<sup>2</sup> for Gen 2:4, and as recently as the publication of Wiseman's Clues,<sup>3</sup> while the latter position was taken by the Masoretes (note the סדרה indicators

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1. Gen 2:4; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2; Num 3:1; Ruth 4:18.

2. מקראות גדולות א, בראשית (New York, 1951) ע' ו.

3. P. 102 (a revision of the two volumes New Discoveries in Babylonia about Genesis [London and Edinburgh, 1936] and Creation Revealed in Six Days [London and Edinburgh, 1948]). Cf. also J. T. Walsh, 'Genesis 2:4b-3:24: A Synchronic Approach', JBL 96 (1977), p. 162 and Schicklberger, TZ 34 (1978), p. 71.

before all of the formulae except Gen 11:27; 36:9<sup>1</sup> and 37:2), and as recently as Westermann's commentary on Genesis.<sup>2</sup> Westermann, however, seems to be having it both ways, at times calling the formula in 2:4 an Überschrift<sup>3</sup> and at times saying that Gen 1 is designated as a tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt.<sup>4</sup> In yet another option, de Witt has argued that the formulae refer to both the preceding and the following sections.<sup>5</sup> He does this, however, by subjectively reordering the text from that of the MT. This should not be allowed in order to develop an hypothesis unless the text as it stands is not able to be understood. In this study, the extant MT will be the point of departure.

The first element of the formula in Gen 5:1 is the singular demonstrative pronoun. When such a pronoun, with or without a copula, occurs in a formula which describes a passage, which is the function of 5:1a, it can be either a heading<sup>6</sup> or a subscript,<sup>7</sup> or even both, serving to bracket a section.<sup>8</sup> These two uses can occur in the same passage. This provides no further assistance in interpreting Gen 5:1 since it remains ambiguous.

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1. These two are marked by a preceding blank space in some MSS; cf. the Codex Leningrad (B19<sup>A</sup>) as reflected in BHS.

2. Westermann, Genesis, p. 18, mistakenly '2:4b' rather than '4a'. Cf. also Kitchen, Life, p. 6; Kegler, Geschehen, p. 19.

3. Genesis, p. 18.

4. Ibid., pp. 23, 113.

5. DeWitt, EQ 48 (1976), pp. 196-211.

6. E.g. Lev 6:2, 7 (copula), 18; 7:1 (copula), 11 (copula).

7. E.g. Lev 7:37.

8. E.g. Gen 9:12, 17; Num 4:24, 28. Not all uses of the pronoun in descriptions are attributed to P, as were those so far; cf. e.g. Gen 20:13 (E; precursive); 24:9 (J; anaphoric).

The other two elements of the clause are the text-type ('document'; a.7) and the contents ('tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of Adam'; a.8). Kitchen, in arguing that this and other formulae are not subscripts, refers to the Ugaritic spr 'document' which is cognate to the Hebrew ספר mentioned in Gen 5:1. He states that this word is used in Ugaritic only as a heading.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the noun spr is most commonly found at the start of a document, but it is not attested in this position with a demonstrative pronoun.<sup>2</sup> It appears, however, to be used as the first word in a colophon already studied (KTU 2, 19; see p.24 ). The text-type (a.7) is given along with a demonstrative pronoun, both being also found in Gen 5:1. This is a closer formal parallel to the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt formula than are the Akkadian colophons.<sup>3</sup> The same text-type, i.e. 'document' was also found in the Aramaic texts already noted (pp. 24-27 ). In these texts it only occurs in a subscript or endorsement, which would support the interpretation of the word in Gen 5:1 occurring in the same position, i.e. as a colophon. A fuller discussion of Gen 5:1 and other occurrences of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt formula is found in Appendix C, pp. 363-375.

Yet another possible colophonic element was pointed out by Gevaryahu. He calls the phrase 'thus far are the words of Jeremiah' (Jer 51:64) 'the latest colophon in the book of Jeremiah'.<sup>4</sup> The text content (a.8) is

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1. Life, p. 6. Cf. pp. 94ff below for a discussion and examples of ספר.

2. See Whitaker, Concordance, pp. 468-469.

3. Descriptions are also used in Akkadian texts to refer to seal impressions. This does not refer to the inscription on the seals themselves or include within the impression, but to those descriptions of the seal which are found on the tablet upon which they are impressed. Generally the impression follows immediately upon its preceding descriptive label, e.g. Wiseman, Alalakh 39(OB), 2,15,17,27,51,72,87,363; HSS XIV 12,34,79 (MB); Wiseman, Treaties, 1.1; ADD 640:1-5 (NA); GCCI I, 410 (NB).

4. Gevaryahu, VTSup 28 (1975), p. 56; misquoted as lii 64. Cf. also Jer 48:47 עד-הנה מושב מראב ; Dan 7:28 עד-כה סופא די-מלחא - עד הנה. is called a 'finis notation' by Talmon, "Outlook", p. 335.



indicated, and the thrust of the clause is similar to that of the conclusion element (ul) qati which is in Akkadian colophons.<sup>1</sup> However, the Hebrew formula is not strictly parallel in meaning to the Akkadian. The latter says that there is no further material in a series; it is complete. The Akkadian formula serves as a completion marker. The function of the Hebrew formula, on the other hand is only as a division marker, showing that one section has come to an end and another is starting. It does not say that no further material from the source will follow. While both times the formula is used in the OT the source is finished, this could be simply due to the lack of examples.

Two verses have a slightly different form of the formula, using the verbs כלה (Ps 72:20) and תמם (Job 31:40) meaning 'finish, be complete'. These do parallel the Akkadian completion markers (i.e. qati al. til) more closely in meaning.<sup>2</sup> In both languages the verbs involved are stative. Neither Hebrew verb, however, actually finishes the 'series'. In both cases additional elements from the 'finished' source follow the formulae in the canonical MT.<sup>3</sup> Another point of divergence between the formulae used in the two languages is that in the Akkadian colophons the completion marker is a distinct element of the colophon. It is not syntactically related to an indication of the content or title. Also, it is never used only with the

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1. See Hunger, Kolophone, pp. 2,3 for a discussion and p. 172 sub qatu for examples.

2. Ps 72:20 כלו חפלות דוד בן-ישי (cf. Gevaryahu, VTSup 28, p. 57); Job 31:40 תמם דברי איוֹר.

3. Other psalms are לדוד - e.g. 101, 103, 108-110, 122, 133, 138-145. Ps 86 is entitled חפלה לדוד, the same genre as 72:20. Job speaks again in Job 40:3-5; 42:1-6, although he is talking there to Yahweh rather than to his colleagues.

title or content, but always occurs with other bibliographical data. The Hebrew examples seem only to serve as division markers rather than actual terminal colophons.

There are several areas in which biblical colophons differ from those in Akkadian texts. Since the OT examples are on individual texts which are not apparently included in some larger series, the elements concerning series are not encountered (a.1-4). Also, due to the theological interest of the laws, in contrast to texts of a literary nature, the source as Yahweh suffices, without mention of any literary tradition (elements a.5-7; b.4). Due to the colophons being appended to documents which were used by those who possessed them, there was not any need for indicating their owners (b.2) or other information such as their disposition (c.5). The texts were given by Yahweh to Moses in some kind of theophany which was used to date the texts, rather than needing some external dating system such as that used in the Akkadian colophons (c.4).

An element which was found in each of the biblical colophons noted above, but which is usually lacking in Akkadian ones, is the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun serving as the subject of a verbless clause.<sup>1</sup> Each of the Hebrew colophons is a separate unit, not syntactically related to the body of the text to which it refers. The pronoun serves to provide this secondary link between the text and the colophon, which itself refers to the content of the text. Each time the pronoun occurs at the head of a colophon it serves to indicate a division between sections of the text (see Chapter II.) as well as binding the text and colophon. The same function of dividing the text and colophon is fulfilled in Akkadian and Ugaritic texts by physically setting

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1. See p. 374, n. 2 for two Akkadian examples.

them apart by means of a line or space or by writing the colophon on the edge of the tablet. The occurrence of the text and colophon on the same tablet is enough to indicate the unity between the two. This is not sufficient in the Hebrew OT, since it is a collection of sections in one document in the form in which it is now found, so an indication of relationship was used to unite these two components.

In papers read to the Seventh Congress of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament in 1971 and the Eighth Congress of the same body in 1974,<sup>1</sup> Gevaryahu proposed 'that the biographical elements of the headings of biblical texts and books were authored by scribes of the time of the exile and thereafter'. He also suggested 'that most of the items in biblical superscriptions were originally written at the end of the text and in a later period transferred to the beginning'.<sup>2</sup> He calls these displaced subscripts 'biblical colophons' (as they will be called in the following analysis). Gevaryahu in these papers sought to prove that the names of authors were included in 'biblical colophons' and that these 'colophons' were moved from the end to the beginning of the text. He also argued that there was originally more colophonic material in the OT than is now found in the MT and that this was a later addition to the text.

With reference to the inclusion of authors' names in 'biblical colophons', Lambert has shown that the majority of Akkadian text were in themselves

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1. A copy of the former was made available to me by Professor D. J. Wiseman; the latter is published in VTSup 28 (1975), pp. 42-59

2. Ibid., p. 52.

anonymous,<sup>1</sup> even though he has published an Akkadian catalogue of authors of various works.<sup>2</sup> This catalogue is taken by Gevaryahu to be parallel to catalogues from ancient Israel, none of which has been recovered. These hypothetical catalogues would have served as a source for the writers of the biblical headings.<sup>3</sup> The existence of such author catalogues is not, however, proven for Israel, and even if it were, there would still be the question of the origin of the catalogues and their relationship with the headings. Were the catalogues derived from oral tradition, from an active imagination or from the extant headings found on texts at the time the catalogue was compiled, which is the source of modern catalogues.<sup>4</sup> Gevaryahu thus has not proven that, if such catalogues were current in Israel, they did not have just the opposite relationship to the headings than those which he postulates.

The majority of the 'biblical colophons' containing biographical information refer to the prophets,<sup>5</sup> but are these people the author, that is, a person who originates or composes a piece of literature?<sup>6</sup> As Moses is said to have received ritual instructions from Yahweh (Lev 1:1, cf. pp. 34-38), so the prophet also claims to receive his message from the same source (e.g. Isa 1:2,10,18; Jer 2:2; Ezek 1:3; Hos 1:2 and passim). He is thus not the

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1. Lambert, JCS 11 (1957), p. 1, where he gives only two examples of texts in which authors are named. Only one of these is probably valid and here the name is not explicit but is in the form of an acrostic; cf. also JCS 16 (1962), p. 59. See p. 21, n. 4.

2. Ibid., pp. 59-77.

3. VTSup 28, pp. 47-51.

4. See B.S. Wynar, Introduction to Cataloging and Classification, 6th ed. (Littleton, 1980), pp. 2, 18-21.

5. Isa 1:1; Jer 1:1-3; Ezek 1:2-3; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Amos 1:1; Ob 1; Mic 1:1; Neh 1:1; Hab 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Mal 1:1.

6. See OED I (1933), p. 571.

originator of the words which he speaks, but only the agent who is to pass them on to the people for whom they are intended. This has similarities with the Aramaic colophons in which one person is said to have written the text while in fact he was the instigator or source of it while another, a scribe, did the actual writing (pp. 25-27 ).<sup>1</sup> The prophet could be considered to have been the scribe (b.1) but he probably did not in most cases himself record his own utterances (see, however, Ezek 43:11; Hab 2:2 in which prophets were commanded to write).<sup>2</sup> This was done by a secretary, as Jeremiah's Secretary Baruch,<sup>3</sup> or by a school of disciples.<sup>4</sup> Generally, however, the books given the biblical 'colophons' (i.e. biographical headings) are not actually writings of the person named, nor do they claim this. Rather, they are said to be a vision ( חֲזוֹן ),<sup>5</sup> oracle ( מֵשָׁא )<sup>6</sup> or the words ( דְּבָרִי ) of the person named,<sup>7</sup> or, even more accurately, recording the 'author' or source as 'the word(s) of Yahweh' ( דְּבַר-יְהוָה ).<sup>8</sup>

Gevaryahu's claim that these 'biblical colophons' are different from Akkadian ones because they include the author's name is not substantiated,

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1. Cf. also Hunger, Kolophone, p. 11, section h. 'Auftraggeber'.
2. For these and other examples see Lindblom, Prophecy, pp. 163-164.
3. See ibid., pp. 160-164; H.M.I. Gevaryahu, ' בְּרוּךְ בֶּן נְרִיָּה מִסֵּפֶר ' in אֵל וְגִבּוֹרֹת, B. Z. Luria, ed. (Jerusalem, 1973), pp. 191-243.
4. See Lindblom, Prophecy, pp. 160-165; Gevaryahu, BetM 47 (1971), pp. 438-456.
5. Isa 1:1; Obad 1:1.
6. Neh 1:1; Hab 1:1; Mal 1:1.
7. Jer 1:1; Amos 1:1.
8. Jon 1:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1. These three designations will be discussed in Chapter I B, pp. 116-136.

since what he presents as the names of the authors are not so. They indicate the source or instigator, both of which are found in other colophons, but not the actual author.

Why then were the prophets' names recorded while nothing similar is found in Akkadian texts? The people themselves were not in direct contact with Yahweh so his message had to be passed through an intermediary. The divine authority of the message would have validated the word of the prophet, who would have been recognized as such by those who heard him. If the speeches were recorded for transmission to others, the prophet would not have been present to lend them validity. If they were to be used without his presence, they would need his validating name as one who was recognized as an instrument of God. The name would also have authenticated the message as in fact coming through a prophet since he was a member of a small group who would have been known to the people. If a purported message from God did not come through one of these recognized intermediaries, it would have been suspect until verified. This is somewhat similar to the Akkadian king starting his inscriptions, and especially his edicts and his orders, by using his name. This would indicate the authority which was behind the document. This authority in the Hebrew prophecies would in fact be that of Yahweh as the source or instigator of the prophecy in the OT. The prophet himself could be compared to one holding delegated authority from the ruler, such as that delegated to the Rab-shakeh by Sennacherib (2 Ki 18:17-19:8 paralleling Isa 36:1-37:8). Since there is no genre of prophecy in Akkadian literature, there are no texts with which to make a close comparison with those in Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Akkadian texts, especially from Mari, have been termed 'prophecy', e.g. the studies cited by R. R. Wilson in 'Form-Critical Investigation of the Prophetic Literature: The Present Situation', Society of Biblical (continued)

The second point posited by Gevaryahu is that the colophonic material which was originally at the end of a text was transferred to the beginning. He lists a number of elements found in biblical headings as a comparison with the Akkadian author catalogue already mentioned (p. 47 ). These are:

- (i) Composition name (e.g. 'The sayings of the Wise, Prov 22:17; 24:23).
- (ii) Composition name with prophet's name (e.g. 'The words of Amos;).
- (iii) Name of prophet and father.
- (iv) Social/professional group of prophet (Amos 1:1; Jer 1:1).
- (v) Title 'prophet' (Hab 1:1).
- (vi) Prophet's home-town (Mic 1:1; Jer 1:1; Nah 1:1).
- (vii) Concerning and to whom prophecy given (Isa 1:1; Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1; Nah 1:1; Mal 1:1).
- (viii) Date of prophecy (Jer 1:2).
- (ix) Chronology of prophet's activity (Jer 1:2-3; Amos 1:1).
- (x) Historical events ('Two years before the earthquake', Amos 1:1).
- (xi) Nature of a given Psalm.<sup>1</sup>

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(continued) Literature: 1973 Seminar Papers I (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p. 115, n. 47 on Nuzi texts and ibid., p. 116, n. 49 on NA texts, but the only detailed study of some of these texts in light of this question (E. Noort, Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, [1977], especially pp. 87-92) has shown that prophecy similar to that of the OT was not practised as Mari; see also A. K. Grayson, Babylonian Historical Literary Texts (Toronto and Buffalo, 1975), pp. 6-7, 13-37 where he says that while most Akkadian 'prophecy' is vaticinia ex eventu, some did conclude with a forecast of the future.

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1. VTSup 28, pp. 48-50.

It has been argued that Gevanyahu has not proved the existence of such catalogues in Israel, nor their relevance to the biographical data at the beginning of OT books. Are there, however, parallels between elements of the list given by Gevanyahu and the elements found in colophons, either biblical or non-biblical? The elements concerning the composition name and nature (i,ii,xi; cf. above, p.50 ) could be seen as parallels with the text-type or content (a.7/8) which are found in colophons. They are also in headings of Akkadian texts, e.g. šiptu (én), taqribtu (ér), ér.šem<sub>4</sub>.ma, ér.šem<sub>4</sub>.hun.ga as well as in Hebrew, e.g. 'ritual text' (טוֹרָה), 'legislation' (משפטים), 'history' (תולדות), and others.<sup>1</sup> This does not justify saying that these elements of the headings were once part of colophons since some of these terms occur at the beginning and end of the same text. Two different logograms of šiptu 'incantation' bracket a number of Akkadian incantations, e.g. King, Magic 1:1, 28; Scheil, Sippar 2:1, 20 and passim in Ebeling, Handerhebung and in Meier, Maqlû. In Hebrew, see Appendix C where the tol<sup>e</sup>dot formulae are shown to be both headings and colophons and also טוֹרָה, which is used to head and close the same sections in, e.g. Lev 6-7 and 14.

Akkadian and Ugaritic literary texts do not start with these names of people who were involved in the text's production, as do the prophetic books (ii-iii). One genre of literature which does have these personal names as part of the heading are legal documents, in which the parties involved are presented at the outset. While some prophetic texts do follow the legal rîb pattern,<sup>2</sup>

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1. See pp. 94ff.

2. For the discussion of this genre up to 1970, see Rogers, JETS 14 (1971), pp. 145-146 and nn. 30, 31. For a more recent study, see K. Nielsen, Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1978).



this is not a general characteristic of these texts so parallels should not be sought here. Two genres which do commence with personal names are royal inscriptions and letters or messages. The use of the prophet's name to provide validity and authority (see p. 49 ) serves the same function as the name and other identifying epithets of the king at the beginning of the royal inscriptions. As it was important that the hearer realise that words were spoken by the king, so it was important that people know God was speaking through his messenger. The names at the beginning of letters identify the sender and addressee. This has parallels with the sender (Yahweh) and agent (the prophet) of these prophetic texts. The form, however, shows that these parallels are not close. The letters provide the names in a messenger-clause at the beginning, e.g. ana X qibima umma Y 'to X say, thus (says) Y'<sup>1</sup> or X דבר אומר .<sup>2</sup> These messenger clauses do not occur at the head of biblical books, though they do appear at points within these books and serve to mark textual divisions.<sup>3</sup> Thus, while Yahweh is sending a message in prophetic texts to his people through the intermediary prophet, the biographical material at the head of the prophetic books is not to indicate the messenger role. Rather, it appears to be to validate the words which follow. This means that the biographical elements listed by Gevaryahu (ii-vi), while having parallels in colophons, also have parallels in headings, so the necessity of them being displaced colophons is not proven.

Three elements in Gevaryahu's list (viii-x) concern the dating of the prophet or his prophecy. Specific dates do occur as an important element of

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1. Passim in Akk letters.
2. E.g. 1 Ki 20:3,5; 22:27; 2 Ki 18:19, para. Isa 36:4 and passim.
3. See pp. 215-216.

colophons in the form of a certain time in a person's reign or limmu (as in no. viii).<sup>1</sup> Since interest in the Akkadian texts was not on the duration of a person's work, ix, concerning the chronology of the prophet's activity, is not included in Hebrew colophons. Some colophons are dated by reference to historical events (x).<sup>2</sup> Dates are not restricted to colophons, however. Assyrian royal inscriptions are often internally dated by recording events according to the year of a king's reign, as are reports of events in Kings and Chronicles. They are also included at the beginning of legal documents as the date when the transaction took place. While specific dating of a revelation from God would not be as important as the dates in legal contracts, they are of importance enough to the prophet and to the nation as a whole to record the general date of the theophany in which the message was received.

The above analysis has shown that while all of the elements in Gevaryahu's list do occur in Akkadian colophons, they are also elements in headings or superscripts of other types of Akkadian texts. The closest parallels are shown to be in the royal inscriptions in which the king was presenting his works to his god, people or others. There is therefore no compelling reason to say that the headings of the biblical books discussed by Gevaryahu are displaced colophons rather than the obvious headings which they are in the extant text.

In addition to the list of heading elements, Gevaryahu presents three other arguments to support his hypothesis that colophons originally standing at the end of a text could have been transferred to the beginning of a text.

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1. See the list of kings and eponyms in Hunger, Kolophone, pp. 156-157.
2. Cf. the dating by theophany in the Hebrew colophons, p. 45.

The first is that '"halleluiah", which was originally a colophon at the end of certain Psalms, was transferred to the beginning'.<sup>1</sup> If this were the case, one could look for a similar situation in the cognate languages. Akkadian exhortations to praise are not part of the colophon. dalālu 'to proclaim, glorify', a word similar in meaning and usage to the Hebrew does occur in a colophon, but only as part of the title of the work, taken from the (missing) incipit, ludlul bēl nēmeqi.<sup>2</sup> It is thus not an exhortation to the reader, not being a separate colophonic element. This, and other words with this semantic range of calling for praise, are used, however, at the beginning of Akkadian prayers and hymns.<sup>3</sup> There is therefore no justification on comparative grounds for saying 'halleluiah' was originally a colophon.

Gevaryahu points out three psalms (104, 105 and 115) in which he claims that 'halleluiah' is at the end in the MT but at the beginning in the LXX. These, he posits, show the process of moving endings to the beginning.<sup>4</sup> Two out of his three examples are erroneous; Pss 104 (LXX 103) and 115 (LXX 114:9) do not start with the word in the LXX. The following list will illustrate where 'halleluiah' occurs at the beginning (B) or end (E) of a psalm in the MT and the LXX.<sup>5</sup>

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1. VTSup 28, p. 52.

2. K. 3972 r 122 in Lambert BWL, pl. 5; see p. 32:1. See also D. J. Wiseman, 'A New Text of the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer', AnSt 30 (1980), forthcoming.

3. E.g. zamāru 'to sing' - CT 15, 1:1; VAS 10, 214 ii 5 (OB), see passim in the incipits found in KAR 158; cf. CAD Z, pp. 37-38.

4. VTSup 28, p. 52.

5. The psalm numbers are those of the MT.

MT	LXX	Occurrences
E	B	105,116, <sup>1</sup> 117
E	O	104,115 <sup>2</sup>
B	B	111,112
BE	BE	150
BE	B	106,113,115,135, 146,147, <sup>3</sup> 148,149
O	B	107,114, <sup>4</sup> 118,119, 136

To this can be added the situation as reflected in the Psalm texts found at or near Qumran (Qu). Several of these psalms are not complete at either the beginning or the end. These are indicated by [ ]. Those not found at all at Qu are not listed.

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1. Pss 116 and 147 are split in two in the LXX: MT 116:1-9 = LXX 114; MT 116:10-19 = LXX 115; MT 147:1-11 = LXX 146; MT 147:12-20 = LXX 147.

2. MT 114 and 115 = LXX 113. The MT 'halleluiaah' at the end of 115 is in the Gk before 114, which in the Heb does not begin or end with the word.

3. See n. 1.

4. See n. 2.

104 <sup>1</sup>	O E	105 <sup>2</sup>	0 <sup>3</sup> [ ]	116 <sup>4</sup>	[ ] 0
118 <sup>5</sup>	[ ] <sup>6</sup> E	119 <sup>7</sup>	0 0	135 <sup>8</sup>	B <sup>9</sup> E
136 <sup>10</sup>	0 0	146 <sup>11</sup>	[ ] E	147 <sup>12</sup>	[ ] [ ] <sup>13</sup>
148 <sup>14</sup>	0 [ ]	149 <sup>15</sup>	[ ] E	150 <sup>16</sup>	0 E

Several important observations can be made by a comparison of these three sources. (a) In all three, the canonical psalter is ended with the

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1. 11QPs<sup>a</sup>E i (vv. 1-6); E ii (vv. 21-35); for abbreviations and references, see Fitzmyer, Scrolls, pp. 24 (4QPs<sup>b</sup>), 35, 37-38 (11QPs<sup>a,b</sup>), 40 (MasPs).
2. 11QPs<sup>a</sup>E iii (vv. 0-12); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> i (parts of vv. 25-45).
3. The beginning of the verse is destroyed, but there does not appear to be enough room for the word; cf. Yadin, Textus 5 (1966), pl. v and p. 9.
4. 4QPs<sup>b</sup> (parts of vv. 17-19). It does not appear that 'halleluiah' was at the end of the psalm; cf. Skehan, CBQ 26 (1964), p. 320.
5. 4QPs<sup>b</sup> (vv. 1-3, 6-11); 11QPs<sup>b</sup> (vv. 1[?], 5); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xvi (vv. 1[?], 15-16, 8, 9 29[?]); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> E i (vv. 25-9).
6. Skehan, CBQ 26, p. 321, posits 'halleluiah' in the missing fifth line of 4QPs<sup>b</sup>.
7. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> vi-xiv (vv. 1-176).
8. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xiv-xv (vv. 1-21).
9. 'Halleluiah', which occurs at the beginning of v. 1 in the MT has been transposed to the end of that verse in Qumran.
10. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xv (vv. 1-16), xvi (v. 26).
11. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> ii (vv. 8-10).
12. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> E ii (vv. 1-2), E iii (vv. 18-20).
13. Although both the beginning and the end of this psalm are broken in the Qumran fragment, Yadin, Textus 5 (1966), pp. 8-9 proposes to restore them, apparently on the evidence of the MT.
14. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> ii (vv. 1-12).
15. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xxvi (vv. 7-9).
16. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xvi (vv. 1-6), MasPs (vv. 1-6).

exhortation to praise. Ps 150 is the only LXX psalm with this word at its close, showing that if the process of moving it from final to initial position was in progress, it was not complete. (b) In the Qu psalter at least six and possibly nine psalms ended with the word, which would indicate an earlier stage of transition than the LXX with only one, but a later stage than the MT with twelve, if this was in fact the trend. Against this, however, is the observation that only in one (or possibly six) case is the word found at the beginning in Qu, so there does not appear to be a shift from end to beginning. (c) The MT and Qu agree against the LXX in four cases (104, 119, 135, 136) and possibly in three more (105, 146, 149). There are no sure cases in which the LXX and Qu agree against the MT, although the possibility exists in 116. All three disagree in 118, and possibly 116. MT and LXX disagree with Qu in the first element of 148 and 150. In no case in which 'halleluiah' occurs at either the beginning or end of a psalm do all three sources agree. This analysis would argue against the gradual displacement of the word from the end to the beginning, unless the LXX and Qu were in completely different traditions, since the shifts which might have taken place in the one do not correspond to those in the other.

It has been proposed for at least some of the psalms that the exhortation at the end might be better seen as the heading of the next psalm.<sup>1</sup> This would result in inclusios in 105 and 116 in addition to those<sup>2</sup> in which the word already forms one in the MT. This does not take

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1. E.g. Kidner, Psalms, p. 373; Dahood, Psalms III, p. 48 referring to Ps 104:35; R. A. F. Mackenzie, 'Ps 148,14bc: Conclusion or Title?', Bibl. 51 (1970), pp. 221-224. In response to the latter see Hillers, CBQ 40 (1978), p. 238. See F. F. Bruce, 'The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation', OTS 17(1972), p. 45.

2. Pss 106,113,135,146,147,148,149,150.

into account that the inclusio in 105 would be destroyed again by removing the word to 106, that 106 already starts with it, and that moving it from 117 to 118 would still not result in an inclusio.

Gevaryahu was correct in noting that in three psalms the MT word at the end appears at the beginning in the LXX, even though he gave the wrong references. He did not, however, comment on the seven cases in which the MT has the exhortation at both ends while the LXX only has it at the beginning. This could not be a displaced colophon since the word would then have had to occur twice at the beginning of these psalms. This is not the case. From these various arguments, it would appear that Gevaryahu's theory of displaced colophons has not been substantiated by an analysis of 'halleluiah'.

The second argument by Gevaryahu is that למנצח was moved from an original final position. למנצח is found at the end of the 'psalm' in Hab 3, as noted by Gevaryahu.<sup>1</sup> He does not mention that the psalm also has a typical psalm heading, 'a prayer<sup>2</sup> of Habakkuk, as a lamentation'<sup>3</sup> (Hab 3:1). If this is an example of the originally final position of musical notation it is the only one still at the end. Why would it have been left there when the other half of the notation had been transferred to the beginning of the psalm? This also could have been the wrongly copied heading of the next psalm in the collection from which this was taken,<sup>4</sup> or else a later addition by a copier who wished to add information concerning its use in the Temple ritual

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1. VTSup 28, p. 52.

2. תפלה ; cf. Pss 17:1; 90:1; 102:1; cf. 142:1.

3. על השגינות - see J. H. Eaton, 'The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3', ZAW 76 (1964), p. 159.

4. G. W. Wade, Habakkuk (London, 1929), p. 210.

without inserting it into the actual text itself. Neither of these possibilities are proven, but they do illustrate that Gevaryahu's explanation is not the only one, or even the most convincing.<sup>1</sup>

Finally Gevaryahu argues that in some cases, i.e. the LXX of Job and the 'original' ending of Ecclesiasticus (50:27-29), colophonic, biographical information is left in its original final position.<sup>2</sup> There are several weaknesses in this argument. If there were a collection of biographical information concerning Job added as a colophon,<sup>3</sup> it would be unique since colophons contain such information about the scribe or others involved in the production of the copy, but never about the main character in the body of the text, since he does not appear in a colophon except as part of the name of the series, e.g. 'Gilgamesh'. Ecclesiasticus does include a colophon, followed by a postscript, which contains elements similar to those in Akkadian colophons. This does not, however, prove that many OT books had similar colophons. Due to the late date of both the LXX Job and Ecclesiasticus, these colophons could well have been due to the influence of those on Akkadian texts, or even Greek texts in the case of Ecclesiasticus. Rather than being remnants of an early practice, it appears more likely that these are adaptations of a practice which became widespread later.

In none of his arguments has Gevaryahu put forward a compelling case for accepting his hypothesis that many biblical headings were once colophons. A

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1. It does not appear to be sound methodology to call on an exception to provide proof. In a similar sort of situation Lambert, in discussing a catalogue from Assurbanipal's library, omits one line from his discussion as being atypical when trying to make a general rule (JCS 16 [1962], p. 75, referring line vii 5).

2. VTSup 28, p. 52.

3. Ibid., n. 37.



re-examination of the evidence which he has produced has rather brought out strong parallels with other headings, which would argue for this being their original function.

In spite of showing that Gevaryahu's hypothesis is not substantiated, he is probably justified in his third point that a certain amount of original colophonic material has been lost in the MT.<sup>1</sup> The amalgamation of two colophons in Lev 7:37-38 was studied in detail (pp. 34-37 ). By their nature, colophons are not a part of the text itself but rather provide secondary descriptions or biographical data. In uniting several documents which contained these colophons, it would not be remarkable for later editors or copyists to delete the colophons as intrusive. Those colophons which still remain in the MT would appear to be more remarkable than the fact that a number of similar colophons had been lost.

The fourth and final point which Gevaryahu seeks to make is that biblical colophons are later additions to the text.<sup>2</sup> Since he relates this argument mainly (in his published articles) to the headings, which have been shown not to have been actual colophons, this is not really relevant. What about the relative dates of the colophons which do exist in the OT to the texts to which they are appended? It will be argued that ritual texts such as Lev 1-7 and the others discussed already which have colophons were used as reference works or manuals by those involved in the various rituals (see pp. 154, 395<sup>401</sup>- / ). There does not, however, appear to be any objectively demonstrable way to prove when the colophons were added since the earliest

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1. Ibid., p. 44.

2. See e.g. ibid., p. 59.

copies of the texts are much later than any proposed date for the original compilation (Lev 7:35-38 is not found among the DSS material). In Akkadian and Ugaritic (and Aram<sup>4</sup>ic?) literature, and probably also in the OT as well, the colophons were used to give background information concerning text-copies, and imply that the text copied was thus later than the original. If, as will be argued, Lev 1-7 was a reference manual in the early stages of Israelite cultic practice, the background information in the colophon (7:37-38) would have been remembered by the people and the priests. While this manual was in use, even during the Temple period, where it probably would have been copied in order to preserve it for consultation, the tradition surrounding it would not have needed to be recorded. It would probably have been only when the text was removed from its actual, cultic setting that the orally transmitted material concerning its background would have needed to be written down. This could have been when the text was copied at some time at a scribal school, though none of these has been yet found in Israel. The same would have happened if the text were copied for an archive or even for inclusion in some larger collected work such as the book of Leviticus itself. As was mentioned at the outset, all of these possibilities, including the necessity of the colophons dating from the time of the Second Temple, are unsubstantiated, but they provide alternative explanations to that of Gevaryahu.

Gevaryahu himself shows an inconsistency in his approach to the biographical 'colophons' at the head of prophetic books. He states that 'there can be no doubt that neither the prophets nor their disciples ever recorded in the headings of their writings the name of the prophet during any period preceding the time of the destruction of the first Temple'<sup>1</sup> and also, concerning Isaiah,

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1. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

that 'the biographical data [was] added in a later period'.<sup>1</sup> This seems arbitrary, and far from proven since Gevanyahu himself recognizes Baruch's role in 'recording for future generations the life history of Jeremiah the prophet'.<sup>2</sup> This is arbitrary in that we do have similar biographical information in other prophetic books. The only difference is that no mention is made of a scribe or school which also might have recognized the importance of this information and included it. Accepting the role of Baruch must logically leave open the possibility, though not establishing the proof, of other scribes who were contemporary with the prophet also concerned with recording similar biographical material. Thus this material, if not the colophon per se, could well be contemporary with or shortly posterior to the prophet whose oracles were recorded.

## 2. SUMMARY SUBSCRIPTS

In addition to the longer, more inclusive colophons in Semitic texts, there are also examples of shorter text descriptions which summarize or characterize smaller units within a larger text. While these are at times the same as one of the elements found in a regular colophon (e.g. text-type [a.8] or content [a.9]) they are treated separately here because of their predominant usage within the body of a textual unit rather than at the end, which is the customary position of the colophon.

### a. AKKADIAN

In Akkadian ritual texts, a colophonic element, usually the text-type (a.8) occurs at times within the body of the text, but between

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1. Ibid., p. 47, n. 16.

2. Ibid., n. 17.

text sections. Several times in the texts concerning the ritual for the repair of a temple, the text-type is indicated as 'ritual of the kalû-priest'.<sup>1</sup> It is set off above and below by lines and occurs between two separate units in the text such as a ritual and an omen (AO. 6472; RAcc., pp. 7:15; 8:2) or between two rituals (O. 174; RAcc., p. 9:20). The same element could be part of a colophon at the end of the latter tablet (Hunger, 103 K). The colophon is internally divided by lines into three sections including (1) this designation of the ritual (l. 14), (2) the catch-line (l. 15) and (3) the remaining colophonic elements. Hunger does not include this text-type clause as part of his presentation of the colophon 103 K, nor does he note the catch-line in this colophon.<sup>2</sup> He does indicate both as being part of other colophons, however,<sup>3</sup> so there appears to be an inconsistency on his part.

This type of text designation at the end of a text section, usually set off by lines or spaces, is very common, especially in Akkadian ritual texts. One of these is the phrase inim.inim.ma (šiptu 'incantation')<sup>4</sup> which is the text-type (a.8) followed by the name of the incantation series (a.3) or the text-content (a.9) and the god to whom it is directed. Hunger does not include examples of this phrase in his book, even though it occurs at times at the end of a text in just the same position in relation to the rest of the

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1. nēpeši ša šu<sup>II</sup> lú<sup>II</sup> gala.

2. Kolophone, p. 43; cf. ANET, p. 341.

3. This verbatim clause is included in 109.1; cf. also 55:1; 76:1. Similar designations of text-type are also given, e.g. ikribu - 34:1; dur.gar - 39:1; cf. also 99:1; 142:1-6.

4. See AHW, p. 1247 sub šiptu(m) 3f and the discussion in Falkenstein, Haupttypen, pp. 6-7.

colophon as did the nēpešu 'ritual' clause noted above. This is again an inconsistency in what is recognized as colophonic by Hunger, even though King specifically referred to this formula as a 'colophon line'.<sup>1</sup> Often these designations are used in texts which supply an incantation followed by its accompanying ritual. This phrase serves to separate these two sections. Most often it is set off from both by lines, but at times the horizontal line which follows is not included, linking the phrase formally to the ritual section, even though it refers to the incantation.

Since this element in Akkadian texts invariably occurs at the end of a text-section, but does not always occur at the end of the text as a possible colophon element, it appears better not to categorize it as such an element in these cases and also not to list it as part of the colophon as Hunger has done in 109:1. Although in this last text, the nēpešu-clause is set off, with the colophon itself, by a double line, it is itself set off from the following colophon elements by the glossenkeil ( 𐎶 ), apparently to distinguish it as not being a regular part of the colophon in this position. The other occurrences of the nēpešu-clause are in the body of the colophon itself (55:1; 76:1) and are not distinguished from the other elements. In these cases, they function solely as a colophon element and not as a summary subscript.

In addition to these concluding titles, some Akkadian texts, especially administrative documents, contained lists of numbers of different items which were summarised at the end of each section by the total of the items in the preceding list.<sup>2</sup>

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1. BMS, pp. XII, 13. See also Biggs, ŠA.ZI.GA, p. 24
2. See e.g. ARMT XVIII 44:15; 55:15; 56 r 6; 58:24-7; 60 r 1; 62:20 (OB); HSS XVI 12:11; 18:56; 20:9 (MB); ADD 307:12; 619:14; 640:5 (NA); cf. AHw, p. 737 sub napḫaru(m) A 1 for further references.

b. UGARITIC

In Ugaritic texts also there are summary subscripts at the end of text sections. Lists of numbered items are summarized before a new section starts by giving the total of the items in the preceding unit.<sup>1</sup>

c. HEBREW

In addition to the two colophons in Lev 1-7 which have already been studied (pp. 34-38 ), there are other subscripts in these chapters which conclude shorter text sections. These subscripts exhibit characteristics of a concluding title<sup>2</sup> by giving the name of the preceding sacrifice and/or its purpose. The name can be either the general 'fire-offering' ( אֵשֶׁה : Lev 1:1,10; 2:2,9,16; 3:5) or the name of the specific offering ( אֵשֶׁה הָרֹא : 4:21,24; 5:9,12; 5:19; אֵשֶׁה מִנְחָה הִיא : 2:6,15; 6:8) or both (עֹלָה אֵשֶׁה - 1:9; 13,17; cf. 3:11,16 - אֵשֶׁה לַחֵם ; 7:5 - אֵשֶׁה לַיהוָה הוּא ). The purpose is given as 'a soothing odour to Yahweh' ( רִיחַ נִיחֻחַ לַיהוָה : 1:9,13,17; 2:2,9; 3:5; cf. 6:8), although at times only the proper name remains to indicate the offering's dedicatee ( לַיהוָה : 2:16; 5:19; 6:8; 7:5). These or similar subscripts also occur in other ritual texts.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See KTU 4.48 r 1; 4.63:24, 48; ii 12, 20, 29, 23, 39, 49; iv 18-19; 4.69:29; iii 22; v 5, 16, 26; vi 5, 21,37; 4.71 ii 9; iii 4, 9; 4.72:5; 4.90:11; 4.93:42; 4.100:10; 4.219:10; 4.232:50; 4.299:6-7; 4.308:17; 4.340:23-24; 4.427:23 (?; broken); 4.610:50-55; 4.704:11.

2. See Andersen, Sentence, p. 54.

3. E.g. אֵשֶׁה - Exod 29:18, 25, 41; Lev 8:21; 23:13 and passim; see Mandelkern, Concordance, p. 156 for references; עֹלָה - Exod 29:18; Lev 8:21, 28; מִנְחָה - Exod 29:14; Num 19:9; עֹלָה - Lev 8:28; purpose - 'soothing odour': Exod 29:18, 25, 41; Lev 8:21, 28; 23:13.

## B. HEADINGS

A text description occurs at the beginning of some texts or text sections in the form of a title or heading. In ancient Semitic literatures they are found in addition to or instead of the descriptive subscripts studied above (pp. 17-65 ). There are two broad categories into which headings can be divided. One group indicates only the text's genre or content, possibly also containing other information concerning the text's date, addressee and cultic use. The second group gives a specific name to the text rather than simply indicating the genre. These also are in two forms. Some use an incipit, which consists of the opening words of the document. Others apply a name to the text, which can be taken from several sources, but is often derived from something within the text itself, such as the chief character (e.g. 'Gilgamesh', 'Samuel').<sup>1</sup> The latter are what would today be understood as 'titles'.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. TITLES

#### a. NAMES

In the Hebrew OT, there are no titles referred to, as distinct from incipits (see b, pp.80-88 ) or descriptive headings (see 2, pp. 94-153 ).<sup>3</sup> Some of the headings are of a fixed form referring to

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1. See Gevaryahu, BetM 45 (1971), pp. 146-151; Tucker, Int. 32, pp. 58-59.

2. This is a different division of descriptive headings than that proposed by Tucker (ibid.) but seeks to be more accurate by not classifying genre or content descriptions as a unity with incipits.

3. Titles, as distinct from incipits, particularise the majority of the OT books as used today, in Hebrew as well as English, coming through the LXX and Vulgate. This is so for all of the books except the Pentateuch, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Eight books are named after a main character (i.e. Joshua, Samuel, Jonah, Job, Ruth, Daniel, Esther, Ezra; see Gevaryahu, BetM 45, p. 149), with an additional fifteen being called after the person (continued)

specific works, but since they are made up of genre descriptions or are incipits, they will be discussed in the relevant sections below.

Akkadian texts also have titles which are used within the corpus of Akkadian literature itself. The epic series which is known by its incipit ša nagba īmuru is also known by a title derived from the name of the chief character, Gilgamesh. The two names occur together in a colophon,<sup>1</sup> while the title alone is used in other places.<sup>2</sup> Other titles are utukki lemnūti (udug.hul.meš) which is used with the incipit šir.nam.nar<sup>3</sup> and sa.gig which is used with the incipit enūma ana é lú.gig ku.ga du<sup>ku 4</sup>.<sup>4</sup> The tenth century Erra epic<sup>5</sup> is referred to by its incipit šar gimir dadmê in five colophons,<sup>6</sup> while in one it is given the title dErra.<sup>7</sup>

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(continued) whose words are recorded (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve [except Jonah] and Nehemiah; see *ibid.*, p. 150). To these could be added Ecclesiastes ( קהלת ) who in 1:1 is said to be the source of the book. Two others, Judges and Kings, give a general description of the main protagonists. See Tucker, *Int.* 32, p. 59.

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1. KAR 115 r 6 (Hunger, *Kolophone*, 255).

2. E.g. Thompson, *Gilg.*, pl. 58 b:1 (Hunger, *Kolophone*, 294); Lambert, *JCS* 16, p. 62 a:10; 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318 b:4.

3. CT 17, 18:19.

4. ND 4366:1-3 in *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 55, text in D. J. Wiseman, *The Nabû-Temple Texts* forthcoming.

5. Dated following W. G. Lambert's review of Gössmann, *Era* in *AfO* 18 (1957-8), p. 400 and Cagni, *Erra*, pp. 44-45. The text is published in Cagni, *Erra*, with the cuneiform in L. Cagni, *Das Erra Epos* (Rome, 1970).

6. A 48; A 131 + 130; A 153; IB 212 and VAT 9162; see Cagni, *Erra*, pp. 130-132.

7. K.1282:1; see *ibid.*, p. 131.



Cazelles proposed an interpretation of the first lines of some Ugaritic texts which results in their being considered titles.<sup>1</sup> This relates to the texts beginning with l plus a divine name, e.g. l.krt (KTU 1.14:1; 1.16.1), l.aqht (KTU 1.19 i 1) and l.b'1 (KTU 1.6:1).<sup>2</sup> Since these cannot be examples of the lamed auctoris as in Hebrew, Cazelles interprets them as the title of a series or epic cycle to which these tablets belong.<sup>3</sup> If this is so, it could, he asserts, also explain the headings of certain of the psalms which are designated לדוד,<sup>4</sup> לאסף,<sup>5</sup> or לבני קרח.<sup>6</sup> Jolton, Gesenius and others have argued that these are indeed cases of the lamed auctoris,<sup>7</sup> but this cannot be the case in the last title since it is not specific enough to give an author's name. It could be that the Ugaritic expressions are in fact here dedicating or directing the text to the deity named.<sup>8</sup> This does not, however, explain the Hebrew psalm headings. While a hymn might be dedicated to a king, e.g. David, or to Asaph, patron or progenitor of a family of musicians who himself composed psalms and hymns (1 Chr 15:19; cf. 16:5 and passim in Ezra,

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1. Cazelles, RB 56 (1949), pp. 93-101; cf. also TQ, p. 253, n. a. Albright in HUCA 23/I (1950-1951), p. 8 also interpreted these as titles.

2. His proposal of l. 'lyn.b'1 as a title (UT 49:1) has been shown not to be valid since UT 49 is a middle section of UT 62; see KTU 1.6.

3. RB 56, p. 99; see UT para. 10.1,11 and Dahood, Philology, pp. 26-27 for the Ugaritic use of l.

4. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 1393-1394; 73 psalms.

5. Ibid., p. 1367; 12 psalms.

6. Ibid., p. 1512; 11 psalms.

7. Gesenius, Lexicon, p. CCCCXXII sub ל 4 c cc; Fuerst, Lexicon, p. 716 sub ל 6c; BDB, p. 513 sub ל 5 b (b); Jolton, Grammaire, para. 130 b; GK, para. 129 c; see Dahood, Psalms I, pp. 15-16; Sabourin, Psalms, pp. 14-16; see also the discussion by Barr, Philology, pp. 175-177.

8. See KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 484 sub ל I 14 'genitive relationship'.

Neh and Chr), it does not appear likely that a hymn would be dedicated to a family of musicians (2 Chr 20:19), although members of this family could have written them, as did Asaph and David (cf. 2 Chr 29:30).

The interpretation of these Hebrew and Ugaritic headings as being titles of a series is not supported by evidence from Akkadian texts, which do not use this form of preposition and name, but rather the word éš.gàr iškuru 'series' (see Appendix D, pp. 377-378 ). Sawyer notes that the l in the Ugaritic texts could mean 'about X'.<sup>1</sup> This might be so in the Ugaritic texts, but it cannot be the case for the Hebrew psalm headings since the people mentioned in them do not appear again in the course of the psalm itself, although some of their experiences could well be reflected (e.g. David's sorrow as reflected in Ps 51 as indicated by the heading). This is also an argument against the hypothesis that these headings reflect series titles. A series has a unifying theme, but one is not apparent between the different psalms which share the same headings.

The study of titles shows how rarely they occur in all of the languages mentioned. They do not seem to be used of shorter, single works, but rather of longer collections or series.

#### b. INCIPITS

Incipits, being the opening words of a text or text section, were already encountered in one form as they occurred as catch-lines in colophons to indicate the next tablet in a series. According to this definition, every text has an incipit. Not all of these appear to have the same function, however, in having a use independent of the work in which they occur.

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1. Sawyer, GUOS Trans 22 (1967-1968), p. 26.

## i. Akkadian

(a.) In Akkadian texts an incipit is generally not overtly marked as with the red ink used in some cases in Egyptian,<sup>1</sup> Aramaic,<sup>2</sup> and even Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> Their extent can only be determined by observing their use in a reference. For example, in the MB 'Advice to a Prince',<sup>4</sup> the incipit is found in the colophon at the end of the single tablet as (59) l[ugal ana dī]nim la iqul al.til. In this case the incipit is only the protasis, which is only the first half of the first line. The most accessible sources of incipits are colophons or catalogues which list a number of works. Not all entries in catalogues consist of incipits, however, since some works are listed by title rather than by incipit.<sup>5</sup> This is seen from the guide to Akkadian and Hebrew catalogues listed in Appendix E (pp. 379-385 ).

'Incipits' also recur within the body of some texts, especially rituals. For example, in the seventh century BC copy from Assur of the ritual for covering the kettle drum<sup>6</sup> part of the ritual is: '(10) The incantation (én) "gu<sub>4</sub>.gal gu<sub>4</sub>.mah ú ki.uš kù.ga" (11) you will whisper into his right ear (10) with a reed-tube; (12) the incantation "alpu illitti zī attama" (13) you shall whisper through a reed-tube into his left ear'. The same two

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1. E.g. A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts II (Chicago, 1938), pp. 373ff; see B. van de Walle, 'La division matérielle des textes classiques égyptiens et son importance pour l'étude des ostraca scolaires', Le Museon 59 (1938), pp. 223-232; H. Brunner, Altägyptische Erziehung (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 74.

2. See below, pp. 92-93.

3. See pp. 87-88.

4. DT 1; Lambert, BWL, pp. 31-32, pp. 110-115.

5. See above, p. 67 and n. 2.

6. VAT 8022 in KAR 60; see RAcc., pp. 20-21.

incantations with identical incipits are found in a Seleucid copy of the ritual found in Uruk.<sup>1</sup> Instead of copying out the entire incantation, which would have made the text inordinately cumbersome especially when, as in this text, six or more works are indicated as to be recited as part of the ritual, the scribe simply referred to them by their incipits. They would then have needed to have been read from another, reference tablet of incantations or cited from memory. Such a reference tablet for this ritual is known from a copy from Assurbanipal's library.<sup>2</sup> In this tablet, the two incantations just referred to are listed seriatim in the order in which they were to be recited in the ritual. In the reference tablet they are also followed by a summary subscript which indicates their genre, explains when they were to be used, and gives the accompanying rituals. After the incantation (K.4806:9-16) there follows the note (17) *inim zu.ab ša šà geštu<sup>II</sup> gu<sub>u</sub> ša zag ša lid<sub>x</sub> dúb zabar arāmi* (18) *ina qam sag.tar gi.dùg.ga tulap<sub>h</sub>haš*. A similar note follows the second incantation, also separated by a line (incantation - 11.19-25, note - 1.26). Other reference tablets have also been recovered.<sup>3</sup>

To show the nature of this scribal technique, a partial list of incipits drawn from these sources as well as the references of the texts referred to, if known, is given in Appendix F. Such a list, if complete, would provide a reference to all literary texts<sup>4</sup> according to their incipits in the modern manner of a catalogue of titles - a system already used by the specialist

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1. AO.6479 ii 9, 10 in RAcc., p. 4.
2. K.4806 in IV R 23, 1; cf. RAcc., pp. 25-33.
3. E.g. Maqlû, table IX in Maqlû, pp. 57-64/ in Surpu I, pp. 11-12.
4. As opposed to economic, legal or epistolary texts.

Babylonian scribes (see the catalogues listed in Appendix E). It would also aid in illuminating the scope of the Sumerian and Akkadian literature as well as providing insight into the cultic and other ritual practices of the culture especially as they drew on this literature as part of their activity in these areas. Such a complete listing is beyond the scope and need of this thesis, so only representative examples are given in the Appendix.

(b.) There is considerable variety in the length of the initial phrase or clause when, as an incipit, it is used as a means of reference. In some cases the difference is only between the use or lack of a Sumerian post-positive (e.g. in.nin.me.ga.ga.la in the catalogues in BASOR 88, pp. 12:44 and 18:35, but only in.nin.me.ga.ga. in UET VI/1 123:36; hur.sag an.ki.bi.da.ke<sub>4</sub> in BASOR 88, p. 17:11 and UET VI/1 123:15 but only hur.sag an. ki.bi.da in BASOR 88, p. 12:17) or the use or not of the conditional particle (e.g. be é.gal tirāni in BRM 4,15:32 but only é.gal tirāni in ibid., 16:29 diš iqqur dū<sup>u<sub>5</sub></sup> in STT 305 r 31 and Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318a:7, but only iqqur dū<sup>u<sub>5</sub></sup> in CT 41, 39 r 11). In a number of cases the incipits are substantially different in length when referred to in different texts. The series ur<sub>5</sub>.ra=hubullu is referred to simply as ur<sub>5</sub>.ra in VAT 8876:329,<sup>1</sup> leaving out the Akkadian translation found in the first line of this lexical list, but the series u<sub>4</sub> an(.na) <sup>d</sup>en.ííl.lá is referred to in UET VI/1 123 as (49) u<sub>4</sub> an.ne (50) īnu Anu u <sup>d</sup>Enlil, in which a bi-form of the usual Akkadian translation (enuma <sup>d</sup>Anu <sup>d</sup>Enlil) of a shortened form of the Sumerian incipit is given.

Sometimes a number of texts begin with a few identical words even though they refer to different compositions. As a space saving device some

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1. MSL VI, p. 34.

catalogues refer to these generically by the common words, such as éš.nun.e (BASOR 88, pp. 12:6,47) which could refer to at least three works, éš.nun.e sag na.an.í1.ta (ibid., p. 18:36), éš.nun.e é.kur.ta.è.a (ibid.,:37: cf. p. 17:6), or éš.nun.e éš.nun.e. é.ta nam.ta.è (ibid., p. 14, n.6)<sup>1</sup> or dumu. é.dub.ba.a, where 'three' is given before the incipit in UET VI/1 123:33 to indicate the scribe's awareness of at least that many works with this beginning (cf. UET V 86:24).

Sometimes the writer of one text simply included more of the incipit than did the writer of another text. For example, the incipit of the Gilgamesh epic is given in the colophon of one of the copies of tablet I as [ša nagba imuru lušed]di māti<sup>2</sup> while in other colophons it is only ša nagba imuru (see CT 46, 18:32; KAR 115 r 6 and passim in Thompson, Gilg. The incipit (d) lugal.ban.da is referred to in BASOR 88, pp. 12:39; 18:24; UET V 86:20; VI 1/1 123:39 but in Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318a:12 it is <sup>d</sup>lugal.bàn.da ku[r ki.sù.ud.da], and [šar gimir dadmê bānû] kibrāti (JCS 16, 62a:1) is only šar gimir dadmê in KAR 168 r i: 32, LKA 11 iv 17 and Cagni, Erra, fig. 9:152.

One incipit shows the rare feature of not being the beginning but rather the end of the first line of a text. The incipit of one of the dumu. é.dub.ba.a texts noted above (UET VI/1 123:33) is dumu.é.dub.ba.a u<sub>4</sub>.ul.la.ám me.šè i<sup>3</sup>.du.dè.en.<sup>3</sup> In the catalogue in BASOR 88, p. 12:50 reference is made

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1. See Kramer, BASOR 88, p. 15 n. 6 where he notes at least three compositions with this beginning.

2. K. 913:32 in Thompson, Gilg., pl. 8.

3. UET VI/2, 165 and 166.

to me.šè.àm i.du.dè.en, which is apparently the same work.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the scribe chose this part of the incipit to indicate exactly which work he was referring to rather than the ambiguous dumu.é.dub.ba.a.

Yet another variation in form is found in YBC 3654 iii 32 in which a text is referred to as eń me.lám.sù.su but which, according to Hallo, could be the beginning (eń) and end of the first couplet of a hymn.<sup>2</sup>

(c.) As noted (p. 69 ) the catch-lines of colophons are in effect incipits of the next tablet in a series. Are these related to the incipits just discussed by their referring to a separate unit within the series, or are they simply used to unite the tablets one to another? In other words, does the division of the material into different tablets arise from the scribe reaching the end of one tablet and, even though still following the same thought or narrative, having to go on to another tablet due to lack of space, or does the division into tablets indicate a division into distinct textual units within the overall literary unit?

There are several different procedures which could be used to determine if the division of material in a series on to different tablets is due solely to considerations of space or to other factors. One of these methods is to study those texts which have a catch-line contained in their colophons to see if the material in the body of the text comes close to the end of the tablet or if there is space left blank after even the colophon had been added. If the latter is the case, and the tablet is not designated as the last in a series, it would appear that space was not the deciding factor. Possibly the

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1. See this interpretation in Kramer, BASOR 88, p. 16 n. 22.

2. Hallo, JAOS 83, p. 173.

division followed some canonical structure of the series or the text section was in some other way more than arbitrarily determined. While the existence of space left blank in a tablet after the text and colophon had been completed would lead to this conclusion, a lack of space would not necessitate the opposite. A skilled scribe would be expected to be economical in his materials, so he would probably tend to use a tablet of the right size for the text which he was copying, using the original as a guide. This could, however, depend on the scribe himself, or upon the tradition in which he was trained. This procedure should be relatively straightforward with the information provided in Hunger's Kolophone. Unfortunately, Hunger has not indicated the existence of a catch-line each time it occurs in a colophon, although he does so in a number of texts.<sup>1</sup> This inconsistency makes the task more difficult.

A copy of the first tablet of the Erra epic is published as STT 16. The first three columns average 60 lines in length. The fourth column, however, has only eleven lines before the catch-line and colophon. While the colophons of the Sultantepe tablets generally allow more space between lines than the body of the text itself,<sup>2</sup> few leave as much room as STT 16. Other Sultantepe tablets, which leave part of the tablet blank even though belonging to a series but are not its last tablet are STT 2 (enūma eliš II), 76-77 (bīt rimki), 78 (Maqlû I), 82 (Maqlû III), 172 (azág.gig.ga.meš), 177 (udug.hul.gál), 91 + 287 (enūma ana bīt marši; the reverse of 287 contains only the colophon), 301 (almanac extract), 307 (excerpts from šumma izbu) and 394

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1. A survey of ten colophons from CT 12, i.e. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 29b and 37, which are listed by Hunger shows that all ten have catch-lines, even though he only notes one (37) as having one.

2. For a list of Sultantepe colophons, see Hunger, Kolophone, p. 188, sub STT.



(malku=šarru VIII) with also possibly 201 (incantation) and 280 (šà.zi.ga).

The other tablets from this provenance which have substantial blank spaces are single tablets, not appearing to be from a series (45-letter; 67-prayer; 73-miscellaneous prayers, etc.; 87-prayer; 95-medical text; 123-hymn; 124-prayer and others). From the examples it appears that the hypothesis regarding the division for reasons other than space being indicated by blank spaces in the text within the body of a series is substantiated, at least for the NA texts from Sultantepe.

The Erra epic (tenth century BC)<sup>1</sup> is divided into five tablets in its canonical form.<sup>2</sup> Although the second and third tablets are fragmentary, it appears there were differences in the number of lines in some of the tablets, with considerable divergences in some cases, i.e. I=191, II=about 160, III=about 190, IV=151 and V=61. Assuming the same length for the tablets, there would be blanks in the second, fourth and fifth, the latter because the epic was complete and no further room was needed. The space in tablet IV is clear from IB 212 in which, even with the colophon, about one-third of the tablet is blank.<sup>3</sup> The third tablet is too fragmentary to comment upon.

In this and other texts discussed therefore, it appears that a division of material onto different tablets, is not always a matter of space, since sufficient space remains in the texts to accommodate more material, but this space has not been used.

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1. See p. 67 , n. 5.

2. A 153 (KAR 169) contains the whole myth on one tablet. Concerning the canonicity of the text, see Cagni, Erra, p. 28.

3. Ibid., fig. 9 and pl. II.

Another procedure, if the above has not provided help in finding the determining factor for dividing the text, is an analysis of the content of the text itself to see if a tablet division is not well placed from the standpoint of the unity of narrative or train of thought. If a text has sections dealing with different subjects and these units are disrupted by tablet divisions, one would expect this to be due to the space on the tablet having run out before the thought was completed. A series which shows a clear correlation between sense and tablet divisions, however, would appear to have been consciously divided onto the constituent tablets. For example, the series Šumma izbu is recorded on at least twenty-four tablets.<sup>1</sup> It appears to be divided into tablets by its subject matter, as the table below indicates.

Tablet No.	Begins	Ends
I	Numbers of human births	
II III	Human deformities	
IV	Human disorders	
V	Animal crossbirths and monsters	
VI	<u>izbu</u>	No. of births
VII	Deformities	Cranial irregularities
VIII	Two Heads	
IX	Bumps	Horns
X	Eyes	Hair
XI	Ears	
XII	Nose	Tongue

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1. Leichty, Izbu.

Tablet No.	Begins	Ends	(Cont.)
XIV	Calf	Leg	
XVI		Intestines	
XVII	Stomach	Sheep	
XVIII	Ewe	Goat	
XIX	Cow	Ox	
XX	Mare	Equine Multiple Births	
XXI	Mare anomolies	Equine Multiple Births	
XXII	Sow		
XXIII	Dog		
XIV	Gazelles		

The table shows that while there might be several different matters dealt with on any one tablet, one specific matter is included on only one tablet, except for the long section on human and equine deformity which required two. In no case was one subject divided onto only part of two tablets. In this case subject matter appears to be the dividing factor.

The same criterion appears to have operated in determining the division between tablets IV and V of the Erra epic (see p. 76 ). The fourth tablet ends with an event, while the fifth begins with the relative pronoun enūma 'when' which links the tablet with the event just recorded but also serves to introduce a new section.<sup>1</sup> The division between tablets III and IV, however, divides a speech between the two tablets, indicating that space could have been the determining factor here.

This analysis has shown that in many cases material at the beginning of a tablet is a separate literary unit from that concluding the previous tablet

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1. The use of these internal division markers such as the relative pronoun will be discussed more fully in II B, pp. 170-258.

in a series. The catch-line on the preceding tablet therefore not only serves to link the two tablets and indicate their literary order in the course of the work, but also serves as an incipit referring, as do the other incipits already discussed, to a distinct literary piece. Therefore, in many instances, catch-lines are incipits with a referral function.

Catch-lines and those incipits which are used as references outside of the text itself are not, however, coterminous. Incipits can be of various lengths even if referring to the same text. Catch-lines, however, are generally the entire first line of the following tablet, although this is not always the case. For example, in the Summa izbu series, the catch-line on each tablet which has one still readable is the complete first line of the next tablet including both the protasis and the apodosis. This is shown to be accepted procedure for at least this series because on some of the copies of tablets VII and X<sup>1</sup> the first line of the following tablet is long enough to necessitate using two lines of the colophon to contain them as a catch-line. However, the incipits which are used to refer to the series contain only the protasis which is not the complete first line of the tablets in which they occur, i.e. be sal aratma-i:1 and be izbu-iv:1 and on the first line of the next fifteen tablets.

An interesting divergence from this practice is the catch-line at the end of tablet I of the Erra epic which includes the first two lines of tablet II rather than just the one which would be expected. The reason for this is not clear.

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1. K. 2317 + in Leichty, Izbu, p. 100; K. 6256 + in ibid., p. 130.

## ii. Hebrew

The incipit is also used in Hebrew to refer to sections within the Old Testament itself.<sup>1</sup> After the destruction of the Egyptian forces in the sea, Moses sang a song of praise to Yahweh (Exod 15:1-18) which begins '(1) I will sing to Yahweh because he is greatly exalted, horse and rider he cast into the sea.' Following this song, Miriam 'repeated' (עָנָה, v. 21) the song to the women. The words she is said to have sung are those of the incipit cited, with the change of the initial אֲשִׁירָה (1st person singular modal) to שִׁירָן (2nd person plural modal). What is the relationship between the two songs? Cross and Freedman, as well as Noth, have argued that v. 21 is 'simply the title of the song taken from a different cycle of tradition'.<sup>2</sup> that is the Yahwist (Exod 15:1b-18) and Elohist (Exod 15:21), 'where only the incipit of the hymn, that is the name, is cited.'<sup>3</sup> Noth says of v. 21 that it could be even older than the longer version of the song in the preceding verses,<sup>4</sup> which itself 'began with the old hymn 15.21, slightly altered, and then sang in praise of the miracle wrought by God.'<sup>5</sup> Coats, on the other hand, has shown that it is not possible to prove that v. 21 refers to the poem in vv. 1b-18 in the form in which it now occurs or even to this particular poem at all.<sup>6</sup> This is possible since several works can begin with the same words,

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1. The Hebrew names currently used for the books of the Pentateuch are taken from the incipits of these books as is the name of Lamentations (אֵיכָה). These are not used to identify these works within the Bible itself, however.

2. JNES 14 (1955), p. 237; cf. Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (Missoula, 1975), p. 45. Cf. Noth, Exodus, p. 121.

3. Cross, Myth, p. 123; cf. Albright, HUCA 23/I (1950-1951), p. 7, n. 17.

4. Noth, Exodus, p. 121.

5. Ibid., p. 123.

6. Coats, CBQ 31 (1969), p. 3.

as noted in the Akkadian examples above (pp. 72-74 ). The verbal repetition in the case of Exod 15:1b and 21 is much longer than any of the Akkadian examples of similar phrases at the beginning of different works read as incipits, however, although some catch-lines are of similar lengths (see p. 79 ). He also suggests the possibility that v. 21b 'represents the conclusion of the poem, a repetition of the introductory title' although he admits to the difficulties which this interpretation would cause by incorporating the prose verses 19-21a within the poem.<sup>1</sup> While it does not confirm this interpretation, it should be noted that incipits are also found as part of colophons in Akkadian text, thus also effectively beginning and concluding the text, although the repetition in the colophon is not strictly part of the body of the text.<sup>2</sup> All of these arguments have assumed that Exod 15:1-21 is a diachronic amalgamation of texts from at least two different periods.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to accept the assumption that the shorter song in v. 21 must be earlier.<sup>4</sup> If this verse is a reference to the incipit of the longer song, it must be contemporary or subsequent to it. There does not appear to be any compelling reason to suppose that the events surrounding the recitation of the two songs were different from those recorded in Exodus, namely the prose linking verse in 15:19-20, i.e. Miriam responded by repeating the song which Moses and the people had just sung. The variation in the verbal forms ( אֲשִׁירָה - v. 1; שִׁיר - v. 21) has been noted by Cross and

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1. Coats, CBQ 31, p. 7.

2. See p. 69.

3. For a summary of the discussion of the dating of the text, see Coats, CBQ 31, p. 4; cf. also D. A. Robertson, Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry (Missoula, 1972); Cross, Myth, pp. 121-144.

4. See H. Gunkel, 'Die israelitische Literature' in Die Orientalischen Literaturen, ed. P. Hinneberg (Berlin/Leipzig, 1906), p. 61; Noth, Exodus, p. 121.

Freedman, with the additional textual variant of נשירה found in some of the versions. Even though the plural imperative is preferable because of the meter,<sup>1</sup> the singular cohortative is also acceptable since all of those singing would be individually magnifying Yahweh. If the verb ענה,<sup>2</sup> which is used to describe Miriam's action, is interpreted either as being antiphonal response<sup>3</sup> or single repetition, it is the incipit of the song which appears in the MT. There is no reason to assume that this is all that she sings and therefore that two distinct poems are involved.<sup>4</sup> Based on the use of the incipit in Akkadian to refer to a text without having to repeat it fully, this is the form of citation which one would expect.<sup>5</sup> Since there is reason to suppose that the two songs were identical, there is no need to analyse the two separately.

The same verb ענה 'repeat, respond' is used of women singing of David's victory exceeding even that of Saul. The words repeated are 'Saul struck his thousands, but David his ten thousands' (1 Sam 18:7). The incident, and the hymn, became well enough known to be referred to later in David's career (1 Sam 21:12; 29:5). This verse could also be an incipit for a longer hymn of

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1. JNES 14, p. 243; cf. Cross, Myth, p. 127, n. 47.

2. The idea of 'repetition' of the verb is found in Deut 31:21; Ezra 3:11. In addition to these references, the verb is also used in the context of singing of praise in Exod 32:18 and Neh 8:6.

3. So S. R. Driver, Exodus, p. 140; Cassuto, Exodus, p. 182.

4. So Coats, CBQ 31, p. 7.

5. See also the words of Jesus on the cross (Matt 27:46; Mark 15:34) in which the clause למָהּ שִׁבְכָתָנִי אֵלֵי אֵלֵי is a variation of the incipit of Ps 22. The cry was probably made in Hebrew (see the confusion between 'my God' and 'Elijah' - Matt 27:47; Mark 15:35) but based on the LXX; cf. e.g. E. Schweizer, The Good News According to Matthew (London, 1976), p. 514; C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to Saint Mark (Cambridge, 1959), p. 458.

praise, although the entire hymn is not extant in the OT.<sup>1</sup>

At the laying of the foundation of the second temple the people 'repeated (ויענו) with praise and with thanksgiving to Yahweh for he is good, for his mercy is everlasting towards Israel' (Ezra 3:11). In addition to its occurrence in five psalms, which will be discussed later, variations of this sentence occur a further eight times in the OT. All of these occurrences are presented in Fig. 1 in tabular form for easier comparison.

Figure 1

1) Jer 33:11	לעולם חסדו	כי-טוב יהוה	יהוה	הללויה תודו
אמנתו				
2) Ps 100:5	ועד דר ודר	כי-טוב יהוה	כי-לועלם חסדו	לו ברכו שמו: (5)
3) Ps 106:1	כי לעולם חסדו	כי-טוב	ליהוה	תודו
4) Ps 107:1	כי לעולם חסדו	כי-טוב	ליהוה	תודו
5) Ps 118:1,29	כי לעולם חסדו	כי-טוב	ליהוה	תודו
6) Ps 136:1	כי לעולם חסדו	כי-טוב	ליהוה	תודו
7) Ezra 3:11	כי לעולם חסדו על ישראל	כי טוב	ליהוה	ויענו סהלל ובהודות ליהוה
8) 1 Chr 16:34	כי לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	ליהוה	תודו
9) 1 Chr 16:41	כי לעולם חסדו		ליהוה	להודות
10) 2 Chr 5:13	כי לעולם חסדו	[ ] <sup>2</sup> כי טוב	ליהוה	להלל ולהודות
11) 2 Chr 7:3	כי לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	ליהוה	והודות
12) 2 Chr 7:6	כי לעולם חסדו בהלל דוד		ליהוה	להודות
13) 2 Chr 20:21	כי לעולם חסדו		ליהוה	תודו

All examples of the sentence are in the context of praise to Yahweh, as is shown by the content, seven (No. 7-13) also with the mention of music. All

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1. See Albright, HUCA 23/I, p. 7, n. 17.

2. ובהודות קול בהצאדות ובעליתם ובהלל ליהוה.



but two (No. 8,13) give Yahweh's goodness as the reason for this praise, and all acknowledge his eternal loving kindness (טוֹחַ ). There are two basic literary contexts in which the saying appears, those in which it is presented as a direct quotation (No. 1-6, 8, 13) and those in which it is incorporated into the narrative description (No. 7, 9-12). The former are marked by a modal form of the verb נָתַן, while the latter use an infinitive. This distinction leads to the conclusion that Ezra 3:11 is probably not direct speech, as some have translated it.<sup>1</sup> The syntax of the verse also militates against it being interpreted as direct speech since it begins with a causal particle. The repeated use of the saying in a form with few minor variations, however, would indicate that it had become a set saying. Though not a direct quotation, the New American Bible indicates the proverbial character by translating 'song of praise and thanksgiving "for he is good, for his kindness to Israel endures forever"'. The use of the lower case at the beginning of the clause indicates that it is not a direct quote, but the quotation marks show its proverbial nature. While these conventions were not available to the Hebrew writer, he would probably have known that he was using a fixed literary form since his rendering is so close to the other occurrences.

As already noted, this saying occurs in five psalms. In one (100, No. 2) it is in a modified form from that found in Ezra, but in the other four the form is identical, apart from the added עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>2</sup> in Ezra and the

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1. Rudolph, Ezra, p. 30; Myers, Ezra, p. 24; Michaeli, Chroniques, p. 265; Bückers, Esdras, p. 34; RSV; NIV.

2. Seen as a gloss by Batten, Ezra, p. 122. Although the form of the saying is fairly constant (see the figure above), there is enough variation, even internally (cf. 1, 2, 10) to allow for minor alterations to the basic framework without positing a later emendation. Even if the phrase were later, the editor would have had some purpose in including it since he would have been aware of the proverbial, and thus relatively fixed, form and nature of the saying.

infinit/<sup>ive</sup> of the verb used there. Any four of these could have been referred to by the saying as an incipit.<sup>1</sup> By content, however, Ps 106 probably would not be the song referred to since it is a prayer for deliverance, unsuitable for recitation at a joyful event such as the Temple rebuilding in Ezra 3. Any of the other three could be referred to since they are all praises for Yahweh's help. Ps 136 deals mainly with creation and the Exodus from Egypt, which could have been seen in Ezra's situation as a prototype of the Exodus from Babylon, but the other two psalms refer directly to gathering the redeemed (107:1-7) and to the Temple (118:26; cf. v. 20 and the building mentioned in v. 22). Ps 107, with its redemption motif, would probably also have been the song referred to in Jer 33:11 where the prophet says that the desolate, uninhabited land will be repopulated and filled with songs of thanksgiving, but the Temple is also referred to in the verse. 2 Chr 20:21, a song set in the context of marching out to a battle against Israel's enemies, would best refer to Ps 118 in which Yahweh is expressly said to cut off the enemy (vv. 10-13). This incipit, as those mentioned in the Akkadian texts (pp. 72-73) could refer to several different works. The context of the incipit aids in determining which is being referred to. Unfortunately, this sort of context is not generally available for the Akkadian examples, especially when they are simply listed in a catalogue.

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1. Ryle, Ezra, p. 48 - possibly referring to Ps 136, but other citations of the saying show that it is "not a quotation from a Psalm, but rather a liturgical response in frequent use at sacred festivals"; L. H. Brockington, Ezra, p. 70 - notes Pss 107, 118 and 136; Bückers, Esdras, p. 37 - Ps 136; Bertholet, Ezra, p. 11 - refers to Pss 27:7-10, although the statement does not occur there, 106f, 118 and 136; Batten, Ezra, p. 122 - refers to Pss 106 and 136; Myers, Ezra, p. 26 - refers to Pss 106 and 136.

Another song is mentioned in Num 21:17-18: **עלי באר ענר-לה** (17) **באר חפרה שרים כרה נדיבי העם במחקק במשענתם:** (18). This song is directed to the well to which the Israelites had come in their wanderings in the Sinai (Num 21:16). The entire song could be recorded here, but since it is so short, it could also be only the incipit of a larger work, as noted by Albright.<sup>1</sup> This also might be the case with the short song recorded in Isa 23:16.<sup>2</sup>

Albright proposed the possibility of Ps 68 being a catalogue of some thirty incipits of hymns, similar to the Akkadian catalogues already noted (p. 70 ).<sup>3</sup> The hymns referred to are not extant in the OT, but the proposed incipit in Ps 68:2 is repeated with only minor variations in Num 10:35.<sup>4</sup> This proposed understanding of the psalm has met with mixed response among OT scholars. J. Gray made a study of the psalm and of different approaches to its interpretation, himself arguing that it is possibly a cantata arising from a cultic coalition of the Israelite tribes at Mt Tabor (Jdg 4-5).<sup>5</sup> While even this interpretation is by no means proven, it shows that there is still some doubt thrown on Albright's proposal. Another weakness in the suggestion that the psalm is a catalogue is the lack of any clear examples of any of the works of which these are the supposed incipits. Each of the Akkadian catalogues cited in Appendix E has at least some

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1. HUCA 23/I, p. 7, n. 17. Other commentators interpret the song as complete.
2. So Albright, ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 1-39; cf. also 'Notes', pp. 1-6.
4. See HUCA 23/I, p. 17.
5. J. Gray, 'A Cantata of the Autumn Festival: Psalm LXVIII', JSS 22 (1977), pp. 2-26.

incipits which have been related to the works to which they refer. Though the comparison with Akkadian literature is not strictly accurate since there is a much larger corpus of cuneiform material, an inter-relationship between supposed incipits and the texts to which they refer would ultimately have been what would suggest the possibility of an incipit collection being a catalogue in the first place, that is unless it was specifically called such, which is not the case with Ps 68. Even though other interpretations of the psalm do not appear to explain it adequately, seeing it as a catalogue is, as Gray says, 'a counsel of despair',<sup>1</sup> trying to make some sense of the psalm even though convincing evidence is lacking.

It is not possible to determine if the incipits of any of the biblical text-sections were in any way overtly marked as they were by the use of red ink in some Egyptian texts,<sup>2</sup> since none of the autograph texts are available. Two later examples of the use of different inks are found in the Qumran scrolls, however. 2QPs, a fragment containing parts of the first eleven verses of Ps 103, has the first two lines (vv. 1-4) written in red ink rather than the black used in the remainder of the fragment.<sup>3</sup> This marked section is considerably longer than any of the other incipits noted in Hebrew, Ugaritic or Akkadian. The length would indicate that the rubric was for a different purpose than simply to distinguish this text from some other, especially as the psalm does not share its opening words with any other extant OT work with which it might be confused. Baillet suggests that the

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1. JSS 22, p. 3.

2. See above p. 70 and n.1 .

3. DJD III, pl. XIII, 14, 1; see also p. 70.

function of the different ink could be 'to draw the attention of the reader or of the reciter, possibly in documents of liturgical character'.<sup>1</sup> This does not explain why the practice was not carried out in the other extant Psalm texts from Qumran.

The reported rubrics in 4Q Num<sup>b</sup> are as yet unverified since the texts have not yet been published.<sup>2</sup> From Cross' report, they appear to be at the beginning of pericopes.<sup>3</sup> The practice of using different inks in Qumran texts is too rare, however, to definitely determine the reason for its use.<sup>4</sup>

### iii Ugaritic

Albright has also proposed that incipits occur in an Ugaritic texts, namely CTA 23 (KTU 1.23):21, and possibly also in 11.8ff, 16ff. He notes that these lines are set off from the preceding context by lines.<sup>5</sup> These do not, however, appear to be incipits which function as reference to texts, since they do not occur elsewhere in the extant Ugaritic literature.

1	iqra.ilm.n'[mm	]	I invoke the kind gods [
	w ysmm.bn.šp[	]	And the good ones, sons of [
	ytnm.qrt.l 'ly[	]	Who set a village on high [
	b mdr.špm.yd[	]r	In the steppe, dunes they [
5	1 rišhm.w.yš[	]xm	At their heads and they [ ]
	lhm.b lhm.ay.w šty.b hmr		Eat the bread of the coastlands and drink
	yn ay		the fermented wine of the coastlands.

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1. Ibid.

2. A report is published in F. M. Cross, 'La grotte 4 de Qumran (4Q)', RB 63 (1956), p. 56.

3. See also DJD III, p. 70.

4. See below, pp. 92-93.

5. HUCA 23/I, p. 7, n. 17.

šlm.mlk.šlm.mlkt. 'rbm.	Peace to the king, peace to the queen, to
w tnm	the cultic personnel and the assistants.
<hr/>	
mt.w šr.ytb.bdh.ḥt.tkl.	Mo <sup>✓</sup> t, who is Šar, sits. In his hand is a rod
bdh	of sterility.
ḥt.ulmn.yzbrnn.zbrm.gpn	In his hand a rod of widowhood. May he
	prune the vine,
10 yšmdnn.šmdm.gpn.yšql.	May he trim the vine. May he smite the
šdmth	his fields
km gpn	like a vine
<hr/>	
šb'd.ygrm. 'l. 'd.w	Seven times he will say on the lute and
'rbm.t' nyn	the cultic personnel will respond:
<hr/>	
w.šd.šd.ilm.šd atrt.	'The field is the god's field, the field
w rḥm	of Athirat, that is Rahmay'. <sup>1</sup>
'l.išt.šb' d.ğzrm g.tb.	On the fire seven times the heroes seethe
g(?)d.b ḥlb.annḥ	the sacrifice in milk and butter.
bḥmat	
15 w 'l.agn.šb'dm.dğt	And in the basin seven times the fumigation-
(?)t[d.ğ]tt	offering.
<hr/>	
tlkm.rḥmy.w tšd[ ]	Rahmay goes, and [Athirat] walks
tḥgrn.ğzr.n'm.[ ]	They are engirdled by gracious night.

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1. See p. 277, n. 5.

	w šm. 'rbm.yr[ ]	And the name of the cultic personnel [
	mtbt.ilm.tmn.t[ ]	The seats of the gods, eight [
20	pamt.šb' [ ]	Seven vines [
	iqnu.šmt [ ]	Lapis-lazuli, <u>šmt</u> - stone [
	tn.šrm. [ ]	Two princes [
	iqran.ilm.n'mm[.agzrym. bn]ym <sup>1</sup>	I invoke the kind gods [
	ynqm.b ap zd.atrt. [ ]	Who suck the nipple of Athirat's breast [
25	špš.ms(?)/š(?)prt.dlthm [ ]	The son [?] their [
	w gñbm.šlm. 'rbm.tnnm	And the grapes. Peace to the cultic- officials, to
	hlkm.b dbh n'mt	the assistants coming with gracious sacrifices.
	šd.ilm.šd.atrt.w rḥmy	The god's field, the field of Athirat, that is Raḥmay
	[ ] .yt(?)b <sup>2</sup>	[ ] he sits (?)

The first section of the text, closed by a line, is an affirmation that that the gods are being invoked, with the second section being an invocation

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1. For 11.23-24 see 11.58-61.

2. Taken from KTU, p. 67 with indications of obscured letters deleted.

of mt-w-šr which is to be repeated seven times (1.12). The next section begins with a line which must be the response mentioned in 1.13. Then follow ritual instructions involving actions to be repeated seven times (cf. 1.12). Much the same form is followed later in the poem. A similar affirmation of invoking the gods is given in 11.23-27. The next two sections found in the first part (11.8-12), i.e. the invocation and the ritual instructions, are not repeated, but the response of 1.13 is repeated almost verbatim in 1.28. This appears in both cases to be an incantation, or possibly a hymn or poem, which is to be repeated or sung by the cultic officials as a response. This could well be given here in the form of an incipit. If this is an incipit, the text to which it refers is not extant, so its character as an incipit cannot be proven. Support for this interpretation, however, can be drawn from the verb 'ny which is used of the officials 'responding' to the invocation (1. 12). The verb is cognate with the Hebrew ענה which was shown above (pp. 80-83) to have been used on several occasions to indicate an incipit of a song to be sung or repeated. The occurrence of the same verb in a context which has been suggested on other grounds to be the same as that in which the Hebrew incipits were found would strengthen the argument that the clause repeated in 11. 13 and 28 of the Ugaritic text is also an incipit. Thus Albright's suggestion of incipits in this text is substantiated, although not in the lines which he proposed. Unfortunately, no further occurrences of the verb 'ny appear in the context of a quotation to confirm the interpretation, although the common usage of the verb to indicate a change of speaker in a dialogue supports the translation 'respond'



in addition to the ordinary meaning 'answer' of the Hebrew verb.<sup>1</sup>

#### iv. Aramaic

Until the publication in 1976 of the Aramaic plaster texts from Deir 'Alla, no examples of recognizable Aramaic incipits had been noted. The breadth of the literary genres in Aramaic is admittedly more limited in the area of literary as opposed to legal, diplomatic or epistolary texts, but there still existed several texts which included wisdom (Ahiqar) and possibly incantations,<sup>2</sup> the latter of which were seen in Akkadian texts (pp. 70-<sup>71</sup>) to have been referred to by their incipits. These do not mention any incipits, nor are there other texts in Aramaic, such as the catalogues in Akkadian, which do so. It is only in the Deir 'Alla inscriptions that indications of incipits are found.

In the Deir 'Alla combination I (pl. 29) the three first lines contain writing in red, in addition to the ordinary black ink. Combination II (pl. 30) also has one line (17) in red. I 1 a ([...bl'm.br.b'] r.'š.hzh.'lhm), which appears to be the descriptive heading of the work,<sup>3</sup> probably contained the text-genre ['this is the vision of'] as reconstructed in the translation (p. 179; cf. the extant noun hzh in the first line). This will be discussed in the following section on genres (pp. 117-<sup>118</sup>). In line 2, the red writing begins in the middle of the line and continues through the beginning of

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1. See Whitaker, Concordance, pp. 492-493 for the uses of 'ny; cf. UT, p. 458, para. 1883 for an interpretation of forms of the root 'ny meaning 'respond'.

2. KAI 27 and TCL VI, 58 (not 56 as Rosenthal, ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 658). The former is written in Aramaic script but does not appear to be in the Aramaic language (ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 658), possibly being Phoenician (DISO, p. 137 sub לחשה ). The latter is written in cuneiform.

3. See Hoftijzer's reconstruction in Deir 'Alla, p. 179.

1. 3,<sup>1</sup> being the first words following the direct speech marker kh. This is apparently the beginning of a night vision or revelation to Balaam by the gods (cf. 1. 1 h'wy'tw.'lhw.'lhn.blylh). While there are no similar prophetic texts in Akkadian literature,<sup>2</sup> this is the sort of literary, poetical work which is referred to by incipits in Akkadian, so the red ink could well be drawing attention to the incipit here, although as Hoftijzer notes, the same ink does not appear at the beginning of other sections in which it might be expected such as the beginning of Balaam's prophecy.<sup>3</sup>

Combination II:17 appears also to be a direct quote, which is probably continued from the (missing) end of 1. 16, as interpreted by Hoftijzer.<sup>4</sup> This is conjecture, however, since any possible introductory formula is lacking.<sup>5</sup> If the formula is there, the red ink would follow immediately after each of them, each time there is a clear break in speaker. In Combination I:7, where Balaam is said to speak ((6) ... wy' (7) mr.lhm), the same formula is not used, nor is the red ink. Due to the fragmentary state of Combination II, however, it is not possible to determine conclusively if the function of the red ink is to introduce speech following a message formula with kh and a definite statement based on only one clear case of this would not be wise. It can be said, however, that the red ink does introduce a new section, either the work as a whole or a portion of it.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Hoftijzer, ibid., p. 188 states that the lack of the word divider at the end of 1. could indicate that the last word on that line is continued, still in red ink, on 1. 3.

2. See p. 49 and n. 1.

3. Ibid., p. 189.

4. Ibid., p. 244.

5. See Deir 'Alla, p. 246.

6. G. Rinaldi, 'Balaam al suo paese', Bibbia et Oriente 20 (1978), p. 53 admits that 'it is not always clear why' the red ink is used in the text.

## 2. GENRE AND CONTENT HEADINGS

The second general category of text-headings includes those which describe the text in some way rather than providing a specific name for it. Some simply describe the text as a 'document'.

ספר designates any written document, whether a letter, decree, legal certificate, book or scroll, register, list, etc. (see e.g. Gesenius, Lexicon, p. DXCIV sub ספר ; BDB, pp. 706-707 sub ספר ; KB, pp. 665-666 sub ספר ). In this thesis it will usually be translated as 'book', but this is not to allude to some specific form of the document as against any other (e.g. written on sheets and not on a scroll or ostrakon) but only refers to it as being written down on some vehicle rather than being orally transmitted. The same usage of the cognate spr is found in Ugaritic,<sup>1</sup> where the vehicle is usually clay tablets, as well as in extra-biblical Hebrew and other West-Semitic languages.<sup>2</sup>

### i. Legal Documents

#### (a.) Hebrew

Since ספר is so general a term, most examples of it heading a text are accompanied by an indication of the textual genre as an element of the heading commonly designating legal, diplomatic and annalistic works. The most common of the legal headings are those involving variations of the 'Book of the Law'. They do not themselves head a section of the OT text but are used as internal references within it. These are compiled in Figure 2, divided according to the form of the heading.

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1. See UT, p. 451, no. 1793.
2. See DISO, pp. 196-197 sub ספר III.

Figure 2

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
ספר החוררה			
Deut 28:61	הזאת	Plagues/sickness from curse	Deuteronomy
29:20	הזה	Curses <sup>1</sup>	Deuteronomy
30:10	הזה	Commands and statutes	Deuteronomy
31:26	הזה		Deuteronomy
Placed by Ark, cf. v. 24			
Josh 1:8	הזה		Deuteronomy
Given by Moses (v. 7)			
8:34	Joshua read to people on Ebal and Gerizim	Blessings and curse	Deut 11:26-29 27:11-28:68. [All of Law, cf. v. 35] <sup>2</sup>
2 Ki 22:8 //	Found in Temple		
2 Chr 34:15			
2 Ki 22:11	Lead to reform	[Worship other gods - v. 17	Deut 31:16,29] <sup>3</sup>
(cf. 2 Chr 34:19)			
Neh 8:3	Read in public		

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1. See Weinfeld, Deuteronomy, p. 67.

2. So Keil and Delitzsch, Joshua, p. 92.

3. Of the Pentateuchal books, only in Deuteronomy is Yahweh the object of verb לזבח as in in 2 Ki 22:17 (Deut 28:20; 31:16; cf. 29:24) and only there does the work of Israel's hands anger him (Deut 31:29; cf. 4:25; 9:18). The third action mentioned in this verse, i.e. 'burning incense' to foreign gods, is not referred to elsewhere. The phrase 'other gods' (אלהים אחרים) occurs twice in Exodus (20:3; 23:13), so the verse could be referring to these passages, but it is more likely that the reference is to Deuteronomy, since the phrase is used 18 times in that book (5:7; 6:14; 7:4; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:3, 7, 14; 17:3; 18:20; 28:14, 36, 64; 29:25; 30:17; 31:18, 20).

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
<b>ספר משה</b>			
Neh 13:1		Prohibition of Ammonite and Moabite in Israel	Deut 23:4-6
2 Chr 25:4		Father's/children's sins	Deut 24:16 <sup>1</sup>
35:12		Burnt offering	Lev 1:10-13 or Lev 3; <sup>2</sup> cf. Deut 16:6-7
<b>ספר תורת משה</b>			
Josh 8:31		Building altar	Deut 27:5-7; cf. Exod 20:22
23:6	Joshua urges keeping Law <sup>3</sup>		
2 Ki 14:6		Father's/children/s sins	Deut 24:16 <sup>4</sup>
Neh 8:1	Ezra reads publicly	Commanded to Israel (v. 2 = תורה )	
<b>ספר תורת יהוה</b>			
2 Chr 17:9	Taught to people		
34:14	Found by Hilkiah		

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1. See 2 Ki 14:6 below.

2. The directions for the burnt offering of a lamb, which is what is offered in this Chronicles passage concerning the Passover, are given in Lev 1:10-13. The verb יסיר used in 2 Chr 35:12 of the עלה is found in Leviticus only referring to the removal of the fatty portions of the peace offering so that they might be burnt and the rest eaten (Lev 3; see Curtis, Chronicles, p. 514; Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 327). While the sacrifice is called an עלה, this offering was to have been completely burned, allowing for nothing to be eaten by the people. Either there was an alternative form of the עלה which involved only burning of a portion which was not included in Leviticus or the term עלה has been extended to include also the שלמים of Lev 3.

3. Cf. Josh 1:7 where the phrase אל-יסור ממנה ימין ושמאל closely parallels that in this verse, i.e. לבלתי סור-ממנר ימין ושמאל.

4. See 2 Chr 25:4 above.

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
	ספר תורה (ה)אלהים		
Josh 24:26	Written by Joshua, copy of Moses' Law	Joshua 24	Deuteronomy <sup>1</sup>
Neh 8:8 <sup>2</sup>	Law read causing weeping		Deuteronomy <sup>3</sup>
8:18 <sup>4</sup>	Read aloud 7 days of Succoth		Deut 31:10-13 <sup>5</sup>

As can be seen from Figure 2, whenever a reference is made to some form of the name 'The Book of the Law' and the work referred to can be determined, the reference is either unambiguously to the book of Deuteronomy, or else Deuteronomy contains material relevant to the reference, even though it cannot be demonstrated to be the primary referent. Since this is the case, it is probable that those references to this Law which cannot be shown by internal

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1. See Josh 8:31 ( ספר תורה משה ), 32 ( תורה משה ), 34 ( ספר התורה ), all referring to a copy of Moses' Law made by Joshua, being Deuteronomy.

2. בספר תורה האלהים.

3. In v. 14, the Law (simply תורה ) refers to Lev 23:39-43 concerning Succoth. The reading in 'The Book, in the Law of God' in v. 8 caused the people to weep (v. 9). It does not appear likely that the weeping was caused by a reading of the passage concerning the Succoth celebration in Leviticus, since there is nothing upsetting in that passage. The verb אכל in the T-stem occurs in the context of hearing upsetting news in the Pentateuch (Exod 32:4; Num 14:39) as well as in other passages (see Mandelkern, Concordance, p. 8). Twice people are said to weep ( בכה ) because of breaking commandments. In Jdg 2:4 and Ezra 10:1 there is weeping because the native inhabitants of the land had not been dispossessed or their cult abolished. The commandments concerning these things are given in Deut 7:1-5, with part of Ezra 9:12 coming from Deut 23:7. This could indicate that the people referred to in Nehemiah were weeping for the same reason, seeing that they had broken the commandments of Yahweh, especially as regards mixed marriages (see Ezra 9:2, 12; 10:10; Neh 10:31), and were subject to the curses called for in Deut 29.

4. See n. 2.

5. Succoth is also discussed in Lev 23:33-36, 39-43; Num 29:12-39 and Deut 16:13-15, but none of these mention reading the Law; this is found only in Deut 31:10-13.

evidence to refer to any particular work also refer to Deuteronomy. The 'Book of the Law' which was found in the Temple (2 Ki 22:8, para. 2 Chr 34:15) and which led to reforms along the lines of some of the laws included in Deuteronomy (2 Ki 22:11, cf. v. 17) is very likely to be a form of the book of Deuteronomy, as has been argued by scholars.<sup>1</sup> Since this can be shown for the 'Book of the Law', which at times demonstrably, and at other times inductively, refers to Deuteronomy, it most probably holds as well for the 'Book of the Law of Yahweh' which, although not making explicit reference to any work, as a biform of the shorter title, as can be seen in their interchangeability in 2 Chr 34:14-15. The Law read by Nehemiah is demonstrably Deuteronomy when referred to as 'The Book of the Law of God', and so would have the same referent when called the two other names in Neh 8, i.e. 'The book of the Law (of Moses)'. This identification of the Law found during Josiah's reign with a form of Deuteronomy is important for a study of the history of the cult and the nation as a whole, as well as of the biblical text itself and its transmission, but it does not have anything directly to contribute to the dating of the original composition of the book of Deuteronomy. In other words, one cannot convincingly argue that because a form of the book was discovered in the Temple at this time it was necessarily written in this period as well.

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1. See Nicholson, Deuteronomy and W. Dietrich, 'Josia und des Gesetzbuch (2 Reg. XXII)', VT 27 (1977), pp. 13-18 for a history and synopsis of the debate. M. Or argues that parts of both Exodus and Deuteronomy were found in the Temple in the reference in 2 Ki 22:8 ('"I found the Book of the Law in the Temple" (2 Ki 22:8)' BetM [1978], pp. 218-220). One of his arguments for including Exodus is based on the reference to the 'Book of the Covenant' referred to in 2 Ki 23:2 being Exodus (cf. Exod 24:7) but this is rebutted below (p. 111). Another argument concerning the inclusion of the Passover which is discussed in Exod 12 is weakened by the lack of a strong verbal connection (see p. 96, n. 2.).

As the 'Book of the Law' was shown to have several variant titles, all referring to the same book of Deuteronomy (pp. 94-98 and Figure 2), so there are four other variations of these titles which use the word תורה but are not designated as a ספר . These are presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
תורה משה			
Josh 8:32	Joshua wrote copy (משנה) of Moses' Law		Deuteronomy <sup>1</sup>
1 Ki 2:3	Keeping laws leads to prosperity		Deuteronomy <sup>2</sup>
2 Ki 23:25	Josiah kept the Law (v. 24, related to the book found in the Temple)		Deut/Lev <sup>3</sup>
Mal 3:22		Statutes and judgments given by Yahweh at Horeb	Deuteronomy <sup>4</sup>
Dan 9:11		Israel's sin brings curse and oath of the law	Deut/Num <sup>5</sup>
13		Punishment for breaking the law	Deut/Num <sup>6</sup>

continued next page

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1. The only other reference to משנה תורה is Deut 17:18.

2. Keeping the covenant of Deuteronomy leads to the same verb for success (להשכיל) in Deut 29:8, the only occurrence of this verb in a similar context in the Pentateuch. This could, however, be rather a reference to the general instructions of Yahweh rather than to a specific set of them.

3. One of the ways in which Josiah was said to keep the laws was to do away with אב-אבות ואח-הידעני ואח-התרפיה ואח-הגללים ואח כל השקצים. The אב is condemned in Lev 19:31 (cf. 20:6,27) and Deut 18:11, as is the ידעוני. תרפיה are not specifically condemned in the Pentateuch, while the גללים, associated with שקצים is pictured as undesirable only in Deut 29:16. This distribution, and the occurrence of the most comprehensive (continued)



Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
Ezra 3:2		Instructions for burnt offering	Lev 1
7:6	Ezra was a ready scribe in the Law given by Yahweh		
2 Chr 23:18		Burnt offerings	Lev. 1
30:16		Order of priests Passover burnt offering	--- <sup>1</sup>

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(continued) list of this sort of activity which is condemned in Deut 18:9-11 would indicate that either Leviticus or Deuteronomy are being referred to here, most probably the latter.

4. חקִים (חֻקִּים) ; both words are found in all of the Pentateuchal books. This combination is found in Lev 26:46 but there it has the additional (חֻקֹּת). This conjoined pair is characteristic of Deuteronomy, where it occurs eleven times (4:5,8,14,45 (preceded by הַעֲדוּת) ; 5:1,28 (preceded by הַמִּצְוָה) ; 6:1 (as 5:28), 20 (as 4:45); 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; cf. 4:1) and this is probably what is referred to here.

5. The combination אֱלֹהִים וְשִׁבְעָה occurs in the Pentateuch only in Num 5:21, which concerns the case of a woman suspected of adultery, this being the oath which the woman was to swear to prove her innocence. This could be what is meant in Daniel, but there is no mention of following foreign gods, which could metaphorically be seen as adultery. אֱלֹהִים occurs five times in Deut 29 (11,13,18,19,20) in the context of the curses to follow breaking the covenant. The root שָׁבַע occurs in a verbal form in v. 12 in the N-stem but the nominal form of Dan 9:11 is not found here. The verb does concern establishing the covenant relationship between the people and Yahweh. Reference is made in this chapter of Deuteronomy to the covenant (בְּרִית, vv. 11, 13; cf. בְּרִית סֵפֶר pp.111-112) and this chapter better fits the context of the Daniel reference than does the Numbers passage.

6. See especially Deut 29:20 where breaking the Law results in evil (רָעָה) consequences.

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1. There are no extant regulations concerning the priestly order at the Passover burnt offering. The Passover itself is discussed in Exod 12; Num 9:1-14; 28:16-25; Deut 16:1-8

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
חורח (ה)אלהים			
Isa 1:10	Parallels 'word of Yahweh'	Useless offerings and holy days	General teaching of Yahweh
Hos 4:6	Parallels 'knowledge'		General teaching
Ps 37:31	Known by righteous		General teaching
Neh 10:29	Separation <sup>1</sup> from native people		
30	Given to Moses	Curse and oath <sup>2</sup>	
31		No mixed marriages	Deut 7:3; cf. Exod 34:16
32		Holy Sabbath	Exod 20:8; Deut 5:12
32		Sabbath year debts	Exod 23:11; <sup>3</sup> Deut 15:1-3 <sup>4</sup>
33		Temple offering (1/3 shekel)	Exod 30:13-16 <sup>5</sup>

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1. Separation (הבדיל) from the people of the land is only found in Lev 20:24-26, but nowhere else than in this verse is there separation 'to the Law of God'.

2. אלה ושבועה, see p. 99, n. 5.

3. וננטש את-השנה השביעית; this same verb-[noun]-adjective combination is found only in Exod 23:11. Lev 25:2-7 concerns the sabbatical year following of the land, while the seventh year of release is also noted in Deut 15:12ff (freeing a slave).

4. משא כל-יד; an idiom of Nehemiah, see 5:7,10. It appears that the vocabulary of Exod 23:11 has been combined with the debt release of Deut 15, the common element being the seven year cycle. The writer of Nehemiah must thus have been aware of both legal traditions; cf. Rudolph, Esra, p. 177.

5. Nowhere in the Pentateuch is one-third shekel mentioned as an offering to the sanctuary; in Exod 30, 1/2 shekel is to be given for each Israelite; cf. ibid.

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
תורת יהוה			
Exod 13:9	To be in Israel's mouth		General teaching <sup>1</sup>
Isa 5:24	Parallels 'Word of the Holy One of Israel'; despising causes destruction		General teaching
30:9	Rebellious people won't hear		General teaching
Jer 8:8	Associated with wisdom; parallels דבר יהוה (v. 9)		General teaching
Amos 2:4	Rejected by Judah		Leviticus <sup>2</sup>
Ps 1:2	Delight of righteous		General teaching
19:8	Parallels עֲדֹת יהוה; restores life		General teaching
119:1	Parallels עֲדֹת יהוה; associated with purity		General teaching
Ezra 7:10	Ezra sought to do, learn and teach		General teaching
1 Chr 16:40		Morning and evening burnt offerings	Exod 29:38-42 cf. Lev 6:1-6
2 Chr 12:1	Abandoned <sup>3</sup> by Rehoboam		General teaching
31:3		Morning, evening sabbath, monthly periodic sacrifice	Exod 29:38-42; cf. Num 28-29
4		Priestly portion	Exod 29:26; Lev 7:31-34
35:26	Josiah's deeds correspond to the law		Book of the Covenant <sup>4</sup>

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1. So e.g. Cassuto, Exodus, p. 153; Childs, Exodus, p. 179. No specific laws or commandments are mentioned.

2. מִאֵם is used of rejecting Yahweh's commandments in Lev 26:15, 43; cf. Num 11:20.

3. עֲזָב ; used of the people abandoning the 'covenant' (בְּרִית) ; cf. Figure 2, p.95 ) with God in Deut 31:16.

4. Cf. pp. 111-112.

Reference	Circumstances	Content	Referent
חורח יהוה אלחייך			
2 Ki 10:31	Not followed by Jehu. Related to Jereboam's sins.	Foreign gods [1 Ki 14:9]	Exod 20:3; 23:13; Deut 5:7 and <u>passim</u> <sup>1</sup>
1 Chr 10:31	David to keep; parallels commandments and judgements (v. 13); brings prosperity; given to Moses.		

From the texts referred to as 'Law of Moses', it appears that this is a biform of the name 'Book of (the Law of) Moses' (Figure 2) since almost all of the references are to regulations and other features which are now found in the book of Deuteronomy, as were the references to this book. It has this same meaning in texts assigned to D, as well as later texts. The presence or absence of the designation as a 'book' does not significantly change the referent of the book name. The 'Law of God' does not appear to have this fixed meaning, however, and does not always correspond to the 'Book of the Law of God' (Figure 2). The latter refers only to Deuteronomy, while the former refers to Deuteronomy, or at least a reference to specific laws in the Pentateuch rather than the general teaching of Yahweh, only in the post-exilic book of Nehemiah and not in its earlier occurrences. This could, however, simply reflect the contemporaneity of both a specific and a general use of the same name. The name does not refer to a written document (ספר not being included) and is not associated specifically with Moses. The same can be said for the 'Law of Yahweh (your God)'. Specific works are referred to by this name, but since it also is not associated specifically with a

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1. Cf. Figure 2, p. 95 , n. 3.

written form or a particular event or person, it, with the 'Law of God', would have been the terms available for making a general reference to God's teaching without indicating any one source or document.

2 Chr 35:26 supplies another link between the Law and the 'Book of the Covenant' since both refer to the same work in this passage concerning Josiah and his reforms (see pp. 111-112).

Eight other OT texts have headings which include a note that they are of the genre תורה.<sup>1</sup> These headings start with a demonstrative pronoun which refers to the following text section, and an indication of the concern of the text, that is, 'this (זאת) is the ritual-instruction (תורה) concerning X'.<sup>2</sup> They do not share any of the explanatory descriptions as those headings already noted in Figures 2 and 3, so they do not refer to the same works. The demonstrative pronoun which occurs in these verses tie each to a specific context, either the following passage for the headings or the preceding section for the subscripts. One other reference to a תורה also has a demonstrative pronoun, although it is not in exactly the same form as the examples just noted. Num 19:14a: זאת תורה אדם כי-ימות באהל: followed by a

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1. תורה, comes from the root ירה which, in the H-stem, means 'to teach, instruct'. In most of the contexts discussed below it refers to the instructions for performing various cultic or therapeutic procedures and so will be translated 'ritual instruction'. Cf. the use of this term in subscripts in Lev 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:32, 57; 15:32; Num 5:29; 6:21; Deut 4:44; Ezek 43:12 (see pp. 34ff ).

2. <u>Reference</u>	<u>Contents</u>
Lev 6:2	Burnt offering
:7	Cereal offering
:18	Sin offering
7:1	Guilt offering
:11	Peace offering
14:2	(זאת תהיה תורה) Purification of a leper
Num 6:13	Ending of a Nazirite vow
Ezek 43:12	Temple

description of the rituals needed to purify contaminated people and objects (vv. 14b-22). The Massoretes, as shown by the accents,<sup>1</sup> and translators and commentators<sup>2</sup> have interpreted this as one clause, i.e. 'this is the law should a man die in a tent'. The heading refers to the immediate context.

Other times in the OT reference is simply made to התורה, without any of the qualifications so the term on its own is ambiguous. The book of Deuteronomy refers to itself as התורה,<sup>3</sup> while reference is made to התורה in other books which refer to Deuteronomy as shown by the context.<sup>4</sup>

Six other verses refer to the תורה when speaking of the general teaching of Yahweh, not as found in any one book but in all of its manifestations to Israel (2 Ki 17:13; Jer 2:8; Zech 7:12; Mal 2:8,9; 2 Chr 31:21). This is the same general reference as was noted for the designation 104 אלהים / יהוה תורת (pp.103- ). This unspecified name 'Law' would be the most general which could have been used when not wanting to refer to any particular part of the instructions given to Israel but simply to them in their entirety.

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1. Noted by G. B. Gray, Numbers, p. 255.

2. E.g. Gray, ibid., Noth, Numbers, p. 139; AV, RV, RSV, NEB.

3. Deut 1:5; 4:8,44; 17:18,19; 27:3,8,26; 28:58; 31:9,11,12,24; 32:46.

4. Josh 1:7; 22:5; 2 Ki 21:8; 2 Chr 33:8 (given by Moses); Josh 8:34; 2 Ki 23:24; Neh 8:2,7,9,13,14; 13:3; 2 Chr 34:19 (related to the 'Book of the Law'; see p. 95). Various specific laws are referred to as well, e.g. Neh 10:35,37 refer to the laws concerning the first fruits and the first-born being dedicated to Yahweh (Exod 23:16-19; 34:26; Deut 15:19-23; Lev 27:30,36; Deut 12:17; 14:23,28; 26:12), the ban of the worship of foreign gods (cf. p. 93 and n. 3), the priestly portion (cf. p. 94 and n. 2) and the prohibition of mixed marriages cf. p. 97 and n. 3).

## (b.) Akkadian, Aramaic and Phoenician

There are cases of Akkadian legal documents headed by the indication that they are a 'document' (tuppu).<sup>1</sup> Some OB legal documents are headed simply tuppu(dub) 'tablet', with the body of the text following immediately, with no further information being given.<sup>2</sup> Most texts headed tuppu are defined as to their content by a following noun in a genitive construction. These are common in texts from Nuzi which have a number of such headings including tuppi mar(t)ūti 'tablet concerning the adoption of a son/daughter',<sup>3</sup> or tuppi tidennūti 'tablet concerning personal indenture'.<sup>4</sup> Other similar headings occur in places besides Nuzi, although not with the same relative frequency.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Since the usual vehicle for writing in Mesopotamia is clay, tuppu generally refers to a clay tablet, but it is not restricted to this. Some documents are also designated as tuppu even when written on copper (OAKk; RA 9 [1912], pl. I 1:14 dub; a tablet made of copper) or stone (e.g. OAKk; YOS 1, 10:28; SAKI, p. 164 IX 1 d ii:2 - door sockets; SAKI, p. 170 XI:13 - stone mace; SAKI, p. 172 XIII:11 - stele; RA [1937], p. 174:7 - stone statue). Tuppu, like טפּר and its cognates, does not necessarily indicate the form or content of a text, but simply that it is written rather than oral.
2. E.g. CT 8, 28a; 40b; VAS VIII 69; BE 6/II 49, envelope.
3. E.g. JEN 1-5; HSS XIX 87, 88, 90 and passim in Nuzi.
4. See B. Eichler, Indenture at Nuzi (New Haven and London, 1973). Other such content markers include ahātūti 'adoption as a sister' (CAD A<sub>I</sub>, p. 173 sub ahātūtu; AHw, p. 18 sub ahātūtu); ahhūti 'adoption as a brother' (CAD A<sub>I</sub>, p. 187 sub ahhūtu 2 a 2; AHw, p. 20 sub ahhūtu(m) I ); kallūti 'concerning the position of a daughter-in-law' (CAD K, p. 85 sub kallūtu 1 c; AHw, p. 426 sub kallūtu(m) 2 a); magannūti 'concerning a gift' (CAD M<sub>I</sub>, p. 32 sub magannūtu A); nīditi 'concerning something given' (HSS XIX 132); riksi 'contract' (AHw, p. 985 sub riksu(m) C 2 d ; see p. 112 ); šimti 'will' (AHw, p. 1239 sub šimtu(m) B 2 c); cf. E. A. Speiser, 'A Significant New Will from Nuzi', JCS 17 (1963), pp. 65-71.
5. E.g. šimu 'purchase' (šimātum; AHw, p. 1240 sub šimu(m) I 3cβ ); šupēltu 'exchange' (AHw, p. 1279 sub šupēltu(m) 4 [Nuzi], 5 a [NB]).

Another form of legal heading indicates an aspect of the legal nature when a text is called a 'tablet of no-contest' (tuppi la ragāmim). No content is indicated by the heading, which is also used to modify other 'documents' designations such as 'stone' (aban) on a boundary stone (BBS 3 iii 30) or a sealed document (kanīk la ragāmim; AT 8:28) although the latter are not headings.

Some Imperial Aramaic legal documents use the word שטר (cognate to Akkadian ṣatāru 'to inscribe, write'<sup>1</sup>) 'written document' as part of a heading. An indication of the content is invariably given in the following phrase, e.g. [40] שטר רחומאל זי תמר וקרן 'document of Rhym'1 concerning [40] gur of dates' (L. Delaporte, Epigraphes, 72:1-2).<sup>2</sup>

As in the Hebrew texts already discussed, not all of the Assyrian and Aramaic legal texts have a word for 'document' as part of their heading. Some have only an indication of the specific kind of text which they are.

(i). דנה 'valid tablet' is used on Aramaic dockets on NA Akkadian legal texts (CIS ii 17-19, 22-24, 27, 28, 29). In each case but CIS ii 28, the Akkadian text is indicated in its heading to be a 'sealed tablet' (kišib; 152). see pp. 151- The exception carries the same force as these sealed, legally binding documents, but due to the lack of a seal on the part of the instigator of the tablet, it is headed differently (kum [kunuki] ṣupur). DISO (p. 59 sub II דנה ) translates the word as 'document, contract', which is apparent from the context. It appears that more can be said about the word

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1. See AHW, pp. 1203-1204 sub ṣatāru(m) II; cf. the Talmudic Aramaic usage, Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1555.

2. See also L. J. Delaporte, Epigraphes araméens (Paris, 1912) 81:1; 82:1; Vattioni, Augustinianum 10 (1970), pp. 493-532, no. 49-92, 97, 98:2, 127, 135, 136, 138, 142.



than this, however. Binding OA legal texts are called tuppam dannam (e.g. TCL 14, 21:6; cf. CAD D, p. 95 sub dannu 2) while O/NA legal texts use the feminine form dannatu, with or without tuppu, to signify a valid tablet (CAD D, pp. 90-91 sub dannatu 8). The Akkadian tablets upon which these Aramaic dockets are found are valid, binding tablets, being so marked by their seals, so the Aramaic דנה could well be cognate to dannatu, having a feminine ending and an implicit doubling of the middle n.<sup>1</sup> Thus the endorsement on the Aramaic contract AP 10 gives two descriptive headings of this text, one giving a general indication of the contents (ספר כסף-23 'document concerning silver') and the other giving a more exact description of the nature of the text (דנה זי כתבת יהוחן ברת משלם) a valid/binding document which Yehoḥan, daughter of Meshulam, wrote'). The usage of דנה appears to have been fixed as indicated here since, instead of designating a valid tablet, it here refers to a papyrus document, though still stressing its validity or binding quality as a contract. In each case in which it occurs, דנה is further modified with some indication of the content of the text. In CIS ii 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, all slave sale contracts, the people or person sold is named in a genetival syntactic construction with the דנה (i.e. 'the binding document concerning X'), while in 24 and 27, purchase documents for fields, it is the fields (חקלא ) which are named in this syntactical position. CIS ii 28 has the seller of the property occurring in this position, but this appears to be due to the liability which he is accepting to guarantee the purchased property to be free of obligation. That he is the person obligated is shown by his nail print being fixed at the beginning of the text. Thus in

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1. See independently Millard, Iraq 34 (1972), p. 137; Lipinski, Studies, p. 142, n.4.

each case it is the legally bound person or property which is indicated in the heading.

(ii) ערב 'pledge' is found on an Aramaic docket on an NB contract (CIS ii 65) concerning a copper kettle which is given as surety. The Aramaic word corresponds to the Akkadian idiom pūta našû (CIS ii 65:9-10) meaning 'to stand as guarantor/surety for'. The cognate Hebrew ערבוּן is found in the OT referring to a surety pledge itself (Gen 38:17, 18, 20), but it never refers to a surety document.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) חנא 'contract'<sup>2</sup> is part of an Aramaic docket on an NB Akkadian text concerning bricks (CIS ii 69). The docket reads אחר חנא זי לבנן but the rarity of the form and the broken state of the Akkadian text do not provide enough information to allow a definite understanding of the word and its use.

(iv) בעת 'tariff' occurs in the headings of two Phoenician texts, the Marseille and Carthage Tariffs (KAI 69:1, pl. VI and CIS 1, 167:1, cf. KAI 74, respectively). The second of these reads בעת המשאות / אש חנא [שלום האש אשגל] 'Tariff of the imposts which [the three men who are over the imposts] imposed', while the first, though very similar, begins with the added 'Temple of Ba'alšaphon'. Both heading elements are separate from the text body as is shown by the indentation of only the heading line of the Carthage Tariff and the long (1/2 line) blank space left after the heading of the Marseille Tariff before the body starts on a new line (the end of the heading line in the Carthage Tariff is broken). The general genre description

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1. See the later Aramaic uses of the root in Jastrow, *Dictionary*, pp. 1110-1113 sub ערב ; ערב III; ערבא II; ערבוּן I ; ערבונא ; ערבות; ערבנות.

2. So de Vogue, CIS ii, p. 75; DISO, p. 331 sub חנא.

is supplemented with additional information to distinguish between the various members of this text type. This information includes the indication of the provenance in the Marseille Tariff.<sup>1</sup>

## ii. Interpersonal Relations

### (a.) Covenant, Treaties

#### (i). ברית

Another area using ספר with a modifying noun indicates the text's genre as concerning interpersonal/international relations. In the OT the documents involved are referred to as ספר הברית 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod 24:7; 2 Ki 23:2 [parallels 2 Chr 34:30], 21). That the heading itself, or rather the reference to a work of this description, since the phrase never forms part of an actual heading of a text in the OT, is only indicative of the genre can be shown by noting that this description is used to refer to two different works in the OT. After receiving the Law on Mount Sinai (Exod 20:1 - 23:33) Moses wrote down Yahweh's 'words . . . and ordinances' (24:3, cf. v. 4) and read the 'Book of the Covenant' to the people (v. 7), who agreed to obey it. The identity of the book is generally agreed to be all of the preceding four chapters of Exodus,<sup>2</sup> or at least part of them.<sup>3</sup> The laws of chapters 20-23 are not internally referred to as a 'covenant', but this designation does occur in the prologue (19:5) and probably in the

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1. For a further discussion of the form of these tariffs, see Chapter II, pp. 230-236.

2. E.g. Childs, Exodus, pp. 440-464 and the extensive bibliography on pp. 440-442; cf. Cassuto, Exodus, pp. 264, 312; Rogers, JETS 14 (1971), pp. 146-154.

3. E.g. McNeile, Exodus, p. 147 - original covenant laws probably Exod 20:22-26; 22:29, 30; 23:10-19; cf. pp. xxviii-xxx; see also Paul, Studies, pp. 27-42 who sees Chapters 19-24 all as part of the book, 19 and 24 being the prologue and epilogue respectively.

epilogue (24:7, cf. v. 8) if the title does refer to these chapters. Although it is accepted that Exod 24:3-8 was originally a separate document from the preceding and following verses,<sup>1</sup> in its canonical context the 'Book of the Covenant' can only refer to the preceding chapters, no matter what the pre-history of the text which resulted in the present literary form.

The other references to the 'Book of the Covenant' do not seem to refer to these chapters in Exodus. In 2 Ki 23:2, Josiah is said to have read aloud from this book, which was found in the Temple. He thereupon covenanted to keep the laws contained in it (v. 3). The book which was found in the Temple, however, is called the 'Book of the Law' in 2 Ki 22:8, 11, and it appears that these are variant names for the same book in these chapters. Following the reading of the book, Josiah purged his kingdom of idolotrous worship. A list of some of the things abolished are listed in Figure 4, along with the legal passages in which the practices were forbidden.<sup>2</sup>

The list justifies the previous claim that the 'Book of the Covenant' here does not refer to Exodus 19-24 since none of the laws referred to are found there. Although some of the laws occur in other books, Deuteronomy is the only book in which they are all found in some form. All of the references to the 'Book of the Law' are also to Deuteronomy, which strengthens the interpretation that the 'Book of the Law' and the 'Book of the Covenant', at least in this context, refer to the same book, i.e. Deuteronomy, and thus are variant forms of the book's name. Josiah also cites the 'Book of the Covenant' as justification for keeping the Passover (2 Ki 23:21). While the

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1. See e.g. Childs, Exodus, pp. 499-502.

2. Cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy, p. 3.

Figure 4

2 Ki 23:4	צבא השמים	Deut 4:19 (cf. 17:3)
5	במות לבעל	Num 33:52; cf. Deut 33:29
	לשמש ולירח	Deut 4:19 (השמש וירח-)
	ולמזלות ולכל	הירח ואת-הכוכבים כל
	צבא השמים	צבא השמים
6	אשרה	Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:21
7	קדשים	Deut 23:18
10	העביר בן רב באש למלך	Lev 18:21, cf. 20:2,3,4; Deut 18:10 <sup>1</sup>
14	מצבה	Deut 7:5; 16:22; Lev 26:1 (related to פסל )

commandment to celebrate the festival is given in Exod 12:48; Num 9:10, 14; cf. Lev 23:5; Num 28:16, in each of these verses it is called **פסח ליהוה**. The only commands to hold the festival **ליהוה אלהיך**, paralleling the **ליהוה אלהיכם** in 2 Ki 23:21, are those found in Deut 16:1, 2, again pointing to Deuteronomy as the source of these references.

Similar headings are also found in Akkadian texts which involve the relationship between people, only here they are on the level of international relations rather than between the people and their god, as is the case of **ספר הברית**. The general 'document' can also be amplified in Akkadian as ša niš ilāni<sup>2</sup> or riksi<sup>3</sup> both terms for treaties.

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1. It appears that reference is being made in this case to the Deuteronomy passage since in Kings and Deuteronomy reference is made to **העביר בן רב באש** while in Leviticus **זרע** is used.

2. Literally 'pertaining to the life of the gods', referring to the oaths which were part of the covenant procedures; e.g. AT 2; cf. J. M. Munn-Rankin, continued

The Hebrew <sup>1</sup> ברית without the modifier ספר is most commonly used in the OT to refer to the special relationship established between Yahweh and his people, Israel.<sup>2</sup> This relationship is marked by a special love (חסד e.g. Deut 7:9, 12; 1 Ki 8:23; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 9:32; 2 Chr 6:14). The word is also the genre indicator in Jer 31:32 referring to the following text in which Yahweh establishes a new Law which will be written on Israel's heart. In other passages, the word is not used as a heading but refers to other written documents.

Deut 9:9, 11, 15 refer to the 'tablets of the covenant' given at Mt Sinai, which, in this context, are those stipulations recorded in Exod 19-24 (cf. pp.110-111). Reference to the 'covenant' made at the end of Deuteronomy, however, indicates it being made in Moab (Deut 28:69). This is where Deuteronomy itself is set (see Deut 1:5; cf. 2:8, 9, 18; see p. 134). It is this second referent which is found also in Deut 29:8, 13, 20 in which 'this covenant' is mentioned being written in the 'Book of the Law' (v. 20), which was shown above (pp. 94-98) to also indicate the book of Deuteronomy.

Jer 31:32 refers to a covenant made after the Exodus which the Israelites broke. The description of the covenant in v. 31 (i.e. אשר כרתתי את-אבותם ביום) is very similar to the description in (חזוקי בידם להוציאם מארץ מצרים)

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(continued) 'Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.', Iraq 18 (1956), p. 84.

3. Literally 'obligation', referring to the treaty stipulations; e.g. AT 3; cf. Munn-Rankin, op. cit. and p.106, n. 4.

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1. For a discussion of the etymology and meaning, see TDOT II, pp. 253-256; Barr, 'Notes', pp. 23-25.

2. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 234-236 for references.

Jer 11:4 (i.e. אֶפֶס צוֹיְתִי אֶת-אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם, cf. p.134) and the same covenant, that recorded in Deuteronomy, could well be referred to here as well. There is no information about the covenant in Jer 31:32, however, except its contrast to the new one noted in Jer 31:33. The use of the heading and referent בְּרִית thus corresponds to those of 'Book of the Covenant' (pp.110-112; cf. 'words of the covenant', pp. 133-134) in signifying two works, Exodus 19-24 and Deuteronomy.

(ii) adû / עֲדוּת / עֲדִי

בְּרִית has some overlap in semantic field with a word group comprised of adû (Akkadian), עֲדוּת (Hebrew) and עֲדִי (Aramaic). adû 'vassal treaty' is always found in the plural in this usage.<sup>1</sup> Following the more general heading which describes the text as a 'sealed document'<sup>2</sup> (Wiseman, Treaties, first line), the body of the text is headed '(1) adê ša I Aššur-aḥ-iddin . . . (3) itti I Ramatāja . . . (10) ša ina muḫḫi I Aššur-bān-apli . . . (12) adê issukunu iškunūni 'Treaty which Esarhaddon . . . with Ramataja . . . concerning Assurbanipal . . . , the treaty which he made with you.' The treaty heading indicates the literary genre, the content, and the parties involved.<sup>3</sup> A similar heading with the genre, content and instigator is repeated (11.41-45) following the opening invocation of the gods (11. 13-40) and preceding the stipulations of the agreement.<sup>4</sup> The genre designation

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1. For a discussion of the word, its meaning and use, see Frankena, OTS 14 (1965), pp. 134-136.

2. See p.150 below.

3. See Frankena, OTS 14, p. 125, who interprets the heading as including the gods invoked in 11.13-24.

4. (41) adê I Aššur-aḥ-iddin šar kur Aššur ina pāni ilāni rabūti (43) ša šamē u eršeti issikunu iškunūni (43) ina muḫḫi I Aššur-bān-apli mār šarri rabī ša bīt redūti (44) mār I Aššur-aḥ-iddin šar kur Aššur bēlkunu ša a[na mār šarrūti] (45) ša bīt redūti šumsu izkurūni upaqīdušuni.

is not specific enough to unambiguously indicate which member of the genre is meant, but the following clauses make the heading specific for its own text.

Other texts probably also have similar headings, though the first words are broken, e.g. ABL 1105, 1239; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 107, para. 69:1 (see p. 109 iv 20). Reference is also made to an adê in other contexts, but the specific referent is not clear due to the ambiguity of the genre designation.<sup>1</sup> Some of these references are to the 'treaty document' (tuppi adê; e.g. Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 109 iv 20; ABL 90:6; 539 r 15) but the designation as a 'document' does not appear in any of the extant headings in which adê occurs.

The adê has been related to the Hebrew עֲדָוָה,<sup>2</sup> which is used of the Law received by Moses on Mt Sinai (Exod 31:18; cf. 25:16, 21; 34:29). Note is made of the vehicle upon which the עֲדָוָה was recorded, namely 'tables of the vassal treaty, tables of stone'. No occurrences of עֲדָוָה as an actual heading occur in the OT, although it does refer to a specific document in Exod 31:18. The word עֲדָוָה from the same root is part of a heading which indicates the content of the Decalogue and the additional instructions in Deut 5:1-6:19. Deut 4:45 reads 'these are the "treaty obligations" (עֲדָוָה) and the rules and the decisions which Moses spoke to the Israelites when they went out of Egypt'. This section, i.e. 5:1-6:19, rather than the whole book of Deuteronomy,<sup>3</sup> is

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1. See the references in AHW p. 14 sub adû I; CAD A<sub>1</sub>, pp. 131-134 sub adû A.

2. J. Cantineau, 'Remarques sur la stèle araméenne de Sefiré - Soudjin', RA 28 (1931), p. 168; Wiseman, Treaties, p. 81. For a discussion of the Hebrew word, see B. Vollewein, 'Masoretisches 'ēdūt, 'ēdōt - "Zeugnis" oder "Bundesbestimmungen"?, BZ 13 (1969), pp. 18-40.

3. This verse is seen as a heading for the book of Deuteronomy as a whole by e.g. G. A. Smith, Deuteronomy, p. 75; S. R. Driver, Deuteronomy, p. 79; von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 55; Thompson, Deuteronomy, p. 111; Craigie, Deuteronomy, p. 146.



referred to by this heading, as is shown by the immediately following section (6:20-25) in which the son asks the father 'What are these "treaty obligations" and the rules and the decisions?' The terminology and word order in 6:20-25 mirror that of 4:45, forming an *inclusio* to bracket the intervening verses. Although the heading refers secondarily to the entire book, its primary referent is the immediately following laws. In Deut 4:44 the heading *החוריה* was given to the laws of Deuteronomy as a whole (see p. 105, n. 3 above). There are thus two headings<sup>1</sup> in these verses 44-45, but rather than seeing them as a syntactical 'monstrosity'<sup>2</sup>, their interpretation as two headings, one concerning the entire book as *חוריה* does elsewhere (p. 105 above), and the other concerning simply the Decalogue form, as *עדות* does in Exodus (see p. 115 above).

The corresponding Aramaic *עדות* is part of the heading in the stele from Sefire which opens 'Treaty of Bar-ga'ayah, king of Kutuk, with Mati'el . . .' (Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, pl. III, I A 1). The heading continues by specifically indicating the parties of the treaty (11.1-6). The heading is thus of the same form and function of those with the same genre indication in Akkadian texts.

#### (b.) Communication

Some documents indicate that the literary genre involves interpersonal communication. Yahweh communicated to his people through the prophets, and their messages are headed by several words which indicate different aspects of their content.

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1. Noted by von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, p. 55.

2. *Ibid.*

## (i) חֲזִיּוֹן

Part of the heading of the book of Nahum (1:1 'Book of the Vision [חֲזִיּוֹן] of Nahum of Elqosh') indicates the visionary, prophetic genre of the book as a communication between God and man. The same genre indication, without the note of it being a 'book' heads the prophecies of Isaiah (1:1 'Vision of Isaiah, son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of . . .') and Obadiah (1:1 'Vision of Obadiah').

In each the author, or better the visionary, is identified. Reference is made to the 'Vision of Isaiah' in 2 Chr 32:32. In it the deeds of Hezekiah were recorded. This could refer to all or part of the canonical book of Isaiah which has this heading (Isa 1:1) and contains four chapters concerning the activities of this king (36-39).

In 2 Chr 9:29, a work is referred to as the 'h<sup>a</sup>zôt of Iddo' (see pp. 132, 138 ) which is apparently a biform of חֲזִיּוֹן, possibly with a feminine t to which the final n has been assimilated.<sup>1</sup> It is another source document of the Chronicler.

The Aramaic plaster inscription from Deir 'Alla could have been headed as a hzn, although the beginning of the first line is broken.<sup>2</sup> This is a possibility supported by the occurrence of the word hzh used to describe Balaam in the same line. The nature of the text is similar to OT texts which are called חֲזִיּוֹן in that it involves a night vision (I 1 - h'wy'tw. 'lwh. 'lhn. blylh) concerning approaching doom. The form of the heading, if the interpretation of the lacuna is correct, would closely parallel headings in Isaiah in

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1. KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 289 sub חֲזִיּוֹן, suggests the possibility of it being the infinitive of חֲזַן or possibly a rereading as חֲזִיּוֹן, following Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 225.

2. Hoftijzer, Deir 'Alla, p. 179 restores some form of the word in his translation, cf. p. 92 above.

which the vision is attributed to a person identified with a patronimic (see also Obad. 1). The rubric sets off the same heading element of genre plus visionary, as was proposed for the OT examples.

(ii) מִשָּׁא 'oracle, burden' is used not only in a non-literary sense as a burden,<sup>1</sup> but also is found in literary headings or references to various oracles.<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of the term, see the study

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1. See BDB, p. 672 sub מִשָּׁא II; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 604 sub מִשָּׁא I.

2. 2 Ki 9:25

וַיְהִי־הָיָה נִשְׁאָלִיר אֶת־הַמִּשָּׁא הַזֶּה

Isa 13:1

מִשָּׁא בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר חִזָּה יִשְׁעִיהוּ בֶן־אֲמֹרֶץ

14:28

בַּשָּׁנָה מֵוַת הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲחִיז הָיָה הַמִּשָּׁא הַזֶּה...[פִּלְשָׁתִי]

15:1

מִשָּׁא מִרְאֵב

17:1

מִשָּׁא דַמְשֶׁק

19:1

מִשָּׁא מִצְרַיִם

21:1

מִשָּׁא מִדְּבַר־יָם

:11

מִשָּׁא דִּרְמָה

:13

מִשָּׁא בַעֲרֵב

22:1

מִשָּׁא גִיא חִזִּיר

23:1

מִשָּׁא צֹר

30:6

מִשָּׁא בְּזִמּוֹת נֶגֶב

Jer 23:33

מִדֵּוּ־מִשָּׁא יִהְיֶה

Ezek 12:10

הַנְּשִׂיא הַמִּשָּׁא הַזֶּה בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם

Nah 1:1

מִשָּׁא נִינְוָה

Hab 1:1

הַמִּשָּׁא אֲשֶׁר חִזָּה חֲבַקּוּק הַנְּבִיא

Zech 9:1

מִשָּׁא דְּבַר־יְהוָה בְּאֶרֶץ חֲדָד וְדַמְשֶׁק מִנְחָתוֹ

12:1

מִשָּׁא דְּבַר־יְהוָה־עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

Mal 1:1

מִשָּׁא דְּבַר־יְהוָה־עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

(Continued)

by Erlandsson.<sup>1</sup> The most common oracular heading which uses this term is 'oracle concerning X'. Generally the subject concerned is given in the simple absolute form<sup>2</sup> but six times the subject has a preceding preposition.<sup>3</sup> The source of the oracle is given in seven cases, five times as Yahweh (Zech 9:1; 12:1; Mal 1:1; Jer 23:33; 3 Ki 9:25) and once as the king Agur (Prov 30:1; cf. 31:1 [see pp. 134-135]).<sup>4</sup> The two references in Zechariah and that in

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(continued)

Prov 30:1	דברי אגור בן-יקה המשא
31:1	דברי למואל מלך משא אשר יסרחו אמו
Lam 2:14	ויחזר לך משאות שוא
2 Chr 24:27	ורב המשא עליו ויסוד בית האלהים

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1. Erlandsson, Burden, pp. 64-65 and references, especially n. 6; Scott translated משא as 'a solemn injunction' (Proverbs, p. 183) but Erlandsson shows that the solemn nature of it as a judgement - pronouncement is probably too negative, with the more neutral 'pronouncement' being better.

2. Babylon-Isa 13:1; Moab-15:1; Damascus-17:1; Egypt-19:1; 'steppe of the sea' (מדבר-ים)-21:1; Dumah-21:11; Valley of Vision-22:1; Tyre-23:1; 'Beasts of the Negev'-30:6; Niniveh-Nah 1:1.

3. Isa 21:13 - בערב which has been interpreted as meaning 'in Arabia' (see G. B. Gray, Isaiah I-XXVII, p. 360), or 'in the desert (cf. ערבה)' (see ibid., and Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, p. 133); Ezek 12:10 is generally seen as corrupt to some extent - see Eichrodt, Ezekiel, pp. 147-148. It is not clear whether this is a heading or a subscript; Zech 9:1 - בארץ הדרך ודמשק; Zech 12:1 and 2 Chr 24:27 indicate the subject by על, and Mal 1:1 by אל, Zech 12:1 and Mal 1:1 referring to Israel.

4. Some commentators (e.g. Scott, Proverbs, p. 175; Ringgren, Sprüche, pp. 114-115; cf. Toy, Proverbs, pp. 517-518; Gemser, Sprüche, p. 103) emend the text to read המזאית 'the Massaites', in line with the possible vocalic emendation of Prov 31:1 (see pp. 134-5). The weak manuscript support for this change, coupled with the occurrence of the following genre designation from the same semantic field of prophetic, oracular utterance (see Scott, Proverbs, p. 644; cf. the discussion of נא below, pp. 121-123) appear to support the MT reading of this word. A further detailed study of this verse is given on pp. 134-135.

Malachi have two descriptions of genre, showing that a מִשְׁאָה is 'the word of Yahweh'.<sup>1</sup> Yahweh is explicitly the source as well in those cases when an oracle is said to have been a 'vision' (Nah 1:1, Hab 1:1; Lam 2:14). In two cases, reference is made to specific texts by their genre 'oracle'. 2 Ki 9:25 refers to the oracle in 1 Ki 21:17-24 concerning Ahab's punishment for stealing Naboth's vineyard. In 1 Kings this passage is not termed an 'oracle' but it is headed by the oracular citation formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה (see Chapter II, 3, pp. 247-249). In the summary statement concerning Joash's reign, mention is made of many oracles made concerning him which were written in the 'Midrash of the Book of Kings' (2 Chr 24:27; cf. pp. 129, <sup>-139</sup>139) but none of these are extant in the OT except for one which is referred to in v. 20 of this same chapter. Here Zechariah spoke to the people using the same oracular marker mentioned above. The oracle itself does not concern Joash himself, however, but only the people, so it cannot be among those referred to in 2 Chr 24:27.

(iii) נְבִיאָה 'prophecy'<sup>2</sup> is never used as part of a text heading, but three times it describes other texts in the OT. The agent or author of the prophecy is given in 2 Chr 9:29, 'The Prophecy of Ahijah of Shiloh', which is one of the sources concerning the life of Solomon (see p. 132). Prophecies of Ahijah concerning Solomon are recorded in 1 Ki 11:29-39; 14:7-16, both beginning with the oracular marker כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה (11:31; 14:7; see pp. 247-249). They do not appear to be extensive enough to be given the title used by the Chronicler, nor are they in such a unified form as to merit this name. There

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1. See p. 122.

2. A post-exilic word, apparently taken from the noun נְבִיאָה 'prophet'; see KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 623 sub נְבִיאָה.

apparently was a work called this which was used as a source both for the events in Chronicles and those in Kings, although it is not mentioned in connection with the latter, but this work is no longer extant. The two other occurrences of נְבוֹאָה apply this genre to prophetic utterances, one false, not coming from Yahweh (Neh 6:12 referring to v. 10) and one coming from one of Yahweh's prophets (2 Chr 15:8).<sup>1</sup> In neither case is a name given to the text referred to, but only the genre.

(iv) נֹאֵם 'oracle' is used five times in the heading of a passage (Num 24:3, 15; 2 Sam 23:1; Isa 56:8; Prov 30:1).<sup>2</sup> In Isa 56:8 it is part of the narrative framework of the prophecy, 'Oracle of my Lord Yahweh,<sup>3</sup> who gathers the scattered ones of Israel: "I will gather others . . .". In Num 24:3, 15; 2 Sam 23:1 and Prov 30:1, however, it is part of the oracular utterance itself, introduced by the speech marker וַיֹּאמֶר (Num 23:3, 15) or by another heading (2 Sam 23:1, דְּבַר יְהוָה דִּבְרֵי דָוִד הָאֲחֵרִים; Prov 30:1, דְּבַרִּי אֲגֹר . . . הַמֵּשֶׁא , see pp. 119, 135). These could have been given as part

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1. נְבוֹאָה אֵסָא . . . וְנְבוֹאָה עַד־הַנְּבִיא ; apparently textually corrupt due to the absolute form of נְבוֹאָה ; see Keil, Chronicles, pp. 363-364; Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 244; cf. GK, para. 127f.

2. Cf. Holladay, Lexicon, p. 223 sub נֹאֵם where he only notes three examples. Wolff (Joel, p. 143) proposes four additional occurrences of the phrase as part of the introduction of an oracle (Amos 3:13; 8:9, 11; 9:13), but in each case part of the oracle precedes the word so that in reality it occupies a medial position (see pp. 252-254).

The bibliography concerning נֹאֵם is extensive. See for example, F. Baumgärtel, 'Die Formel n<sup>e</sup>um jahwe', ZAW 73 (1961), pp. 277-290 and bibliography; D. Vetter, 'נֹאֵם n<sup>e</sup>um Ausspruch', THAT II, pp. 1-3 and bibliography; Wolff, Joel, p. 143; W. Smalley, 'Translating "Thus says the Lord"', BT 29 (1979), pp. 222-224.

3. Yahweh is the most frequent name occurring in the genitive construction with נֹאֵם (365 times), though others occur more rarely (10 times) while in Jer 23:31 the word is in the absolute form; see THAT II, p. 1 sub נֹאֵם 2 for figures and references.

of the oracle by the person who originally uttered them, or they could have been a separate heading which was incorporated into the body of the oracle when it was placed in a narrative framework. In either case, the genre of the following unit is given.

Amos 6:8 reads 'My Lord Yahweh has sworn by his being;<sup>1</sup> oracle of Yahweh, God of Hosts'. The second half of the verse could be the beginning of the body of the oracle itself, having been uttered by Yahweh in a manner similar to the four verses just discussed. Ruling against this interpretation is the lack of a preceding heading in the form of a speech marker or another heading indicating that the following words are part of the body of the oracle. There is also a difference in the one to whom the oracle is attributed. The other cases have a man as the originator, while only here is it specifically Yahweh. These points would support the contention that the phrase 'oracle of Yahweh, God of Hosts' is part of the literary framework as it is in Isa 56:8, rather than a part of the oracle body.

The word נָאֻם occurs more commonly in the middle or at the end of a textual unit. These have other functions in addition to that of describing the text, including, in some cases, indicating a textual division. These additional uses will be discussed in the next chapter (pp. 252-254 ).

Prov 30:1 has three indications of genre, דְּבַר, מִשְׁלָּה and נֶאֱמַר (see pp. 121,135). These are all understandable in their present form, without the necessity of emending the text as some suggest.<sup>2</sup> It has already been proposed that נֶאֱמַר is part of the oracle itself, and not of its heading, at

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1. Cf. Wolff, Joel, p. 279, n. b.

2. See some examples referred to on p. 119, n. 4.

least as the text is now preserved.<sup>1</sup> דברי will be shown to indicate an orally given document (p. 138), but the designation is too broad to indicate any particular genre. This is more specifically defined as an 'oracle' (משא) as it is in Zech 9:1; 12:1 and Mal 1:1.<sup>2</sup> Thus, all three descriptions in Prov 30:1 have different uses and are not redundant.

In Amos 3:13, נאם describes the following text section as an 'oracle' but only in the course of an exhortation to heed it rather than as a formal heading.<sup>3</sup>

All of the words so far discussed under the heading 'Communication' have involved a supernatural contact with man. There are other words used in textual headings which do not necessarily involve a deity but can also be between two people.

(v) 'Word, command; event'

(a) דבר / דברי<sup>4</sup>

The two historical accounts of the period of the monarchy (Kings and Chronicles) refer repeatedly to sources from which their material was drawn, or at least in which supplementary information could be found. The references to sources in Kings are worked by a registration formula (הנם/הלא הם) 'they are indeed/are they

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1. The word could be part of an original heading when the oracle was independently circulated; see P P. 121-122.

2. See p. 118, n. 2.

3. שמעו והעידו בבית יעקב נאם אדני יהוה אלהי צבאות.

4. For a discussion of the word, see TDOT III, pp. 103-106; see Tucker, 'Speech', p. 63.

5. I Ki 14:19; 2 Ki 15:11, 13, 26, 31.



not written in the Book of the Journal<sup>1</sup> of the Kings of Judah/Israel') which occurs thirty-four times.<sup>2</sup> The king whose deeds are recorded is identified (X) <sup>3</sup> and the deeds recorded are mentioned. This is usually done with the phrase 'and all'<sup>4</sup> which he did', which makes explicit the merism used in Chronicles (see p.127, n.2). To this at times is added mention of the king's bravery ([לכל] גבורתו [אשר עשה]), usually following the last noted phrase,<sup>5</sup> but in one case (1 Ki 15:23) preceding it, and also once instead of it (2 Ki 20:20). Sometimes other information is added to these phrases.<sup>6</sup> Twice mention is made of a king's

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1. דברי הימים, literally 'daily matters' is a record of events, associated with the reigns of kings, that is, an official record of some kind (see also below, p.133). The Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles (see ABC) are of this same genre. This genre designation 'Chronicle' could have been used as it is commonly in use among Assyriologists, but it is avoided here due to its similarity to that of the Book of Chronicles, which is an example of this genre of literature but is not necessarily what is meant by the description here. 'Annals' is also used of this type of literature since they are often divided into sections of events in each year of a king's reign (see e.g. for the name, AKA) but the OT examples are not arranged according to a yearly scheme, as far as can be determined. The more neutral 'journal', which is etymologically similar to the Hebrew דברי הימים will be used here, although again not presupposing that events were recorded daily (see TDOT III, p. 105).

2. 1 Ki 11:41; 14:19,29; 15:7,23,31; 16:5,14,20,27; 22:39,46; 2 Ki 1:18; 8:23; 10:34; 12:20; 13:8,12; 14:15,18,28; 15:6,11,15,21,26,31,36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17,25; 23:28; 24:5. This is called a 'title' by Kegler, Geschehen, p. 15, cf. pp. 15-19.

3. The only exception is 1 Ki 15:23 which reads ל-דברי אסא Interestingly the parallel Chronicles passage (2 Chr 16:11) is the only one in that book with a variation in this part of the formula (see Figure 5). The כל is deleted by some MSS and versions.

4. רכל; absent in 1 Ki 16:5, 27; 2 Ki 14:15; 16:19; 21:25. The LXX adds παντα in the verses in 1 Kings.

5. 1 Ki 16:5 27; 2 Ki 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:28.

6. Building activities - 1 Ki 15:23; 22:29; battles - 1 Ki 22:46; 2 Ki 13:12; 14:15, 28; sins - 2 Ki 21:17; wisdom - 1 Ki 11:41; see Kegler, Geschehen, p. 16.

plots,<sup>1</sup> and once of his wars,<sup>2</sup> without further reference to any other deeds. For the Israelite king Zechariah (2 Ki 15:11) no mention of the type of deeds is given. The registering formula **הלא הם/הנם כחובבים על ספר** ... **דברי הימים** is then given. The one variant from the ordinary registering formula is 1 Ki 11:41 which refers to the book as **ספר דברי שלמה**. Apart from the specific personal name being different from the regular formula, this work is not referred to as a 'diary', **ימים** being absent in the MT, although one Greek and several Latin MSS supply the missing word. This addition is probably on the analogy of the other references in Kings rather than being evidence of a different textual tradition.<sup>3</sup> This variant is not surprising when the history of the nation of Israel is considered. After Solomon's reign, two separate annalistic accounts would have been necessary since the kingdom was divided into two. Prior to that time, a single account

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1. 1 Ki 16:20; 2 Ki 15:15.

2. 1 Ki 14:19.

3. See Burney, Kings, pp. 172-173.

would have been sufficient. This reference could be to a more comprehensive work than the annals, however, since Solomon's wisdom is also included.<sup>1</sup>

The titles referred to in Kings not only designate the works as 'books' but also give the genre, 'journal', as well as the provenance. While the registering formula has some internal variation, the names of the books themselves are fixed. The genre designation is too broad to allow the reader to determine which book is being referred to, but the other information offered by the following name makes the heading specific enough to serve as the title for a particular book. It is important to note that these titles are always used to refer to another work and do not refer to the work in which they are found. This is in contrast to the 'Book of the Law' which did refer to itself by this name (see Figure 2, p. 95).

A registering formula is used in Chronicles which is similar to that in Kings, but more different sources are referred to as 'document', or at least different forms of the designations of the books are cited. In Chronicles reference is made to the (i) 'Book of the Kings of Israel' (1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 20:34), (ii) 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel' (2 Chr 25:26; 28:26; 32:32), and (iii) 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' (2 Chr 27:7; 35:27; 36:8). A biform of type (ii) is the 'Book of the Kings, pertaining to Judah and Israel' in 2 Chr 16:11.<sup>2</sup> The titles of the source 'documents' are listed in Figure 5 for comparison. Irregularities in the form are underlined.

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1. So J. Gray, Kings, p. 298.

2. Seen as equivalent to (ii) by Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 248; Curtis, Chronicles, p. 22; Myers, II Chronicles, p. 95; taken by Myers and Rudolph as the full form of the name. (The related form 'Matters of the Kings of Israel' [2 Chr 33:18], will be discussed below [pp. 135-136]). For a list of the Chronicler's sources relating to the various kings, see Harris, JETS 14 (1971), p. 177.

Figure 5

1. 1 Chr 9:1 והנם כתובים על-ספר וכל ישראל התיחשבו  
מלכי <sup>1</sup>ישראל
2. 2 Chr 16:11 הנם כתובים על-ספר <sup>2</sup>והאחרנים הראשונים אסא והנה דברי  
המלכים ליהודה וישראל
3. 20:34 הנם כתובים על-ספר והאחרנים הראשונים ויהושיפט ויתר דברי  
בדברי יהוא... אשר העלה <sup>3</sup>מלכי <sup>4</sup>ישראל
4. 24:27 הנם כתובים על- ובניו ורב המשא עליו ויסוד בית האלהים  
מדרש ספר המלכים
5. 25:26 הנם כתובים על-ספר <sup>5</sup>הלא והאחרנים הראשונים אמציהו ויתר דברי  
מלכי יהודה וישראל
6. 27:7 הנם כתובים על-ספר וכל מלחמתיו ודרכיו ויתר דברי יוחם  
מלכי ישראל ויהודה <sup>6</sup>
7. 28:26 הנם כתובים על-ספר והאחרנים וכל-דרכיו ויתר דבריו  
מלכי יהודה וישראל
8. 32:32 הנם כתובים על-ספר והסדיו ויתר דברי חזקיהו  
בזון ישעיהו... הנביא <sup>7</sup>מלכי יהודה וישראל
9. 33:18 הנם \_\_\_\_\_ על- ותפלתו... ודברי חזקים... ויתר דברי מנשה  
דברי <sup>8</sup>ישראל מלכי
10. 35:27 הנם כתובים על-ספר והאחרנים הראשונים יאשיהו (26) ויתר דברי  
והסדיו ככתוב בתורת יהוה: <sup>9</sup>(27) ודבריו מלכי-ישראל ויהודה
11. 36:8 הנם כתובים על-ספר ותעבתיו אשר- ויתר דברי יהויקים  
עשה הנמצא עליו מלכי ישראל ויהודה

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1. LXX, „Vulg and some commentators (e.g. Curtis, Chronicles, p. 169; Rudolph, Chronikbucher, p. 82) add ויהודה, which could have been elided due to haplography, since the following word in the verse is also ויהודה. While there are references to the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' (no. 6, 10, 11) there is also another reference to the 'Book of the Kings of Israel' (no. 6; cf. no. 9) (continued)

The first of these references is different from the rest not only in form, but also in that it does not apparently refer to a record of the events connected with the reigns of the kings, as the other references do, but rather to a work containing genealogical relationships of the entire nation of Israel, apparently as recorded in 1 Chr 2-8:40,<sup>1</sup> which was compiled before Judah's exile to Babylon. Even though the subject matter is different, the formulaic registering notice, i.e. 'they are written in . . .', is the same. This reference appears to be to the introductory section of the entire book which chiefly concerns the events during the monarchy, but also provides the

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(continued) which has not been emended by the versions or commentators. The existence of one reference to this book should allow for the possibility of a second to the same book, or at least of the same title, without resorting to unnecessary emendation. Also, as Williamson has shown (Israel), 'Israel' in the Chronicler refers to all twelve tribes, so the addition of 'Judah' is not necessary to express the entire nation.

2. A merism to indicate that the book referred to contained a complete account of the king's reign; cf. Krasovic, Merismus, p. 143.

3. See, p. 131 and n. 6.

4. The parallel passage in 1 Ki 22:46 has 'Judah' rather than 'Israel', and in all of the following parallels Kings lacks 'Israel'; see Williamson, Israel, pp. 102-110, especially p. 106.

5. אלל is deleted by some MSS and versions. It is characteristic of the chronicling formula in Kings (see p. 123) and is also used in Chronicles when referring to extracts from other sources (2 Chr 9:29; 12:15); cf. Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 280.

6. The order of the two names is reversed in the LXX.

7. See p. 117.

8. See pp. 135-136.

9. See above p. 102 - Figure 3.

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1. See e.g. Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 83; cf. Myers, I Chronicles, pp. 59, 62, who says that it refers only to Chapter 8.

pre-monarchic background in its first chapters, much in the same form as the book of Chronicles itself.

2 Chr 24:27 (4) is different in several aspects from the rest of the examples but should probably be understood in the light of these references. The record of further deeds is not mentioned by the usual formula, but specific matters are referred to as supplementary information, which is found in a number of the other examples. The main difference is the name of the book which is referred to for further information, 'The Commentary on the Book of the Kings'. The 'Book of the Kings' is similar in name to the other references in Chronicles without the geographical designation, possibly as a work which was combined for comment in the midrash (see pp. 120, 138-139). A similar combination with the word 'Kings' in the absolute form is also found in 2 Chr 16:11 (Figure 4, 2).

The other references follow the general pattern of identifying the Judean king and specifying his deeds, using a merism (no. 2,3,5,7,10; see p. 127, n. 2) or describing them in more detail (no. 6,8-11). This is then followed by the registering formula in which the name of the book is given. The pattern is not absolutely fixed, however, since no two of the references follow exactly the same structure. The reasons for the various forms of the book names is not clear, but it seems on the basis of the similar subject matter which is recorded for each king and the similar formulaic expressions that one continuing journal is referred to.

The Chronicler used a form of Samuel-Kings as a Vorlage,<sup>1</sup> but he cannot be referring to these books by the titles which he uses since the text of

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1. See W. E. Lemke, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', HTR 58 (1965), pp. 349-363.

Chronicles concerning the kings mentioned is generally the same length or longer than that of Kings which refers to the same person,<sup>1</sup> so the additional material mentioned in the Chronicler's formula is not found in Samuel-Kings. The Chronicler must be referring to some work which is no longer extant since there is supposed to be additional information in his source than that which is now in the OT.

In the cases already discussed in which דבר is used as a part of the heading of annals, as well as in other occurrences, the form of the reference is that of a genitive construction with the bound form דבר or דברי and the modifying noun in the absolute form.<sup>2</sup> In the majority of cases when a royal annal is not being referred to, these are subjective genitives with the modification indicating the author or source, e.g. 'the Words of Jeremiah . . .'<sup>3</sup> (Jer 1:1-4; cf. the subscript in 51:64 - 'so far are the Words of Jeremiah' which forms an inclusio with 1:1<sup>4</sup>), which is similar to the prophetic headings of 2 Sam 23:1; Amos 1:1; Prov 30:1 (see pp. 119, 121-123, 135) Eccl 1:1 and Neh 1:1.

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1. See a synopsis such as A. Bendavid, Parallels in the Bible (Jeruslaem, 1972). Only the Kings account of the reign of Hezekiah is substantially longer.

2. For a bibliography and discussion of possible etymologies of the word see TDOT III, pp. 84-86, 94-97.

3. This is not meant as 'the history/events concerning Jeremiah' (so Rudolph, Jeremiah, pp. 2-3 and others as noted by Thiel, Redaktion, p. 49, n. 2) as shown by comparison with other prophetic books with this heading with the meaning 'words of X'. The mention of the 'word of Yahweh' in Jer 1:2 does not invalidate them also being the 'words of Jeremiah' since the words read by Baruch in Jer 36 are called both דברי יהוה (vv. 4,6,8,11) and דברי ירמיהו (v. 10). Also, while portions of the book are narrative accounts of events concerning Jeremiah, most of it does concern his prophecies so the designation 'words' would not be amiss.

4. See Lundbom, Jeremiah, pp. 25-27.

In some cases the prophet's source, i.e. Yahweh, rather than the prophet himself is named in the genitive construction (Hos 1:1 [cf. 4:1]; Joel 1:1; Micah 1:1; Zeph 1:1).<sup>1</sup> Four times in Jeremiah (14:1; 46:1; 47:1; 49:34) a variant form of this heading occurs in the form אשר היה דבר - יהוה אל ירמיהו<sup>2</sup> followed by the content of the message,<sup>3</sup> and, in 47:1 and 49:34, the date.<sup>4</sup> In each case a new text-section relating to the content indicated by the heading begins. A form of the heading using דבר , i.e. דבר יהוה, was discussed above (pp. 118-120).

The same form is also used to refer to works used as sources by the biblical authors. In a clause similar to the registering formula already encountered in Chronicles (see pp. 126-129 above), 1 Chr 29:29 reads ודברי דריוך המלך הראשונים והאחרונים הנח כתובים על-דברי שמואל הראה על-דברי הנביא על-דברי נחן הנביא וגד החזה, recording three works, which are no longer extant, by their titles, i.e. 'the Words of Samuel the Seer', 'the Words of Nathan the Prophet' and 'the Words of Gad the Visionary'.<sup>5</sup> References in a similar form are given in 2 Chr 9:29; 12:15 and 20:34, all of which have the regular formula of the Chronicler with different document names given. The third of these references is to a work which was incorporated<sup>6</sup> into the

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1. See TDOT III, pp. 111ff concerning the use of דבר יהוה in prophecy.
2. Missing in 14:1.
3. 14:1 - על דברי-הבצרות ; 56:1 - על הגורים ; 58:1 - אל-עילם ; 50:35 - אל-פלשתים .
4. 47:1 - בראשית מלכות צדקיהו מלך-יהודה - 52:35 ; במרח יבנה פרעה את-עזה - 47:1 .
5. Source documents are thus mentioned in relation to all of the kings of the nation of Israel whether before or after the division of the monarchy (see pp. 123-131).
6. העלה ; cf. עלה - 1 Chr 27:24.



larger 'Book of the Kings of Israel',<sup>1</sup> showing that these annals were not monolithic, single compositions but were themselves drawn from various sources, the majority of which are probably not even mentioned in the present text. 2 Chr 9:29, which concerns the deeds of Solomon, mentions as sources 'the Words of Nathan', 'the Prophecy (נְבוּאָה) of Ahijah of Shiloh' and 'the Vision (חִזְיוֹן) of Iddo (Vulg; K - יַעֲדִי, Q - יַעֲדֹן )<sup>2</sup> concerning Jeroboam, son of Nebat'. It is not clear what the exact difference was between the 'words of a prophet', a 'prophecy' and a 'vision of a visionary', or the relationship of these sources with others mentioned. For example, the 'Words of Nathan' are referred to in 1 Chr 29:29 while in 2 Chr 13:22 (cf. 12:15) Abijah's further deeds were recorded in 'the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (יַעֲדֹן)', who could possibly be the same person mentioned in 2 Chr 9:29. It is noteworthy that the parallel passage in 1 Ki 11:21 reads לְכַרִּי שְׁלֹמֹה in place of all three of the names in Chronicles. This could again indicate a compilation of separate sources into one annal (cf. 2 Chr 20:34 discussed above, p. 131). The same conclusion could be drawn from 2 Chr 12:15 in which further information concerning the reign of Rehoboam is recorded in 'The Words of Shemiah the Prophet and Iddo the Visionary'. This is the third reference to a work by Iddo, a 'vision' (2 Chr 9:29), a 'midrash' (13:22) and 'words' of the visionary. The first and last could refer to the same text. In the parallel passage in 1 Ki 14:29 reference is made to the 'Book of the Journal of the Kings of Judah' (see pp. 123-125). It is noteworthy that the works of individual authors are referred to mainly in connection with the earlier

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1. See p. 126.

2. See pp. 117, 138.

kings in Chronicles, while the 'kings' document is the standard reference for the later ones. This use of independent sources early as compared to later, and in Chronicles as compared to Kings, could argue for the preservation of older original material in Chronicles as reflecting a state before the collection of material into special 'journals'.

One other verse in which the 'words' of someone are referred to is 2 Chr 29:30 in which, as part of the reestablishment of temple works by Hezekiah, the Levites were commanded 'to praise Yahweh with the words of David and Asaph the visionary'. This apparently refers to material now found in the Psalter, or at least to similar works, some of which are attributed in their headings to both of these men.<sup>1</sup> None of these are headed דברי , however, so this use here is apparently a collective designation for the different specific genres of material attributed to the two (p. 68). The verb 'to praise' used in 2 Chr 29:30 suggests that the specific genre used was the תהלה , although none of the existent psalms attributed to Asaph are described in their headings as being a תהלה , and only one of those of David is so described (145:1). The verb הלל does occur frequently in Davidic psalms (e.g. 18:4; 22:23,24, 27; 56:5, 11; 69:31, 35; 35:18) and twice in those of Asaph (74:21; 78:63) even though they are not designated in their headings as being a תהלה.

Exod 34:28 indicates the document from which the 'words' concerned were taken, that is, they are 'the Words of the Covenant'. They are further explained by the appositional phrase עשרת דברים 'the ten words' which were written by Moses on tablets on stone, referring to the Decalogue (cf.

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1. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 1367 (sub לאסף ), 1393-1394 (sub לדוד ); cf. Hab 3:1, p. 58 , attributed to Habakkuk.

pp. 110-111 where '[the Book of] the Covenant' is shown to refer to Exod 19-24).<sup>1</sup> This form is not used in a heading, but it is part of a subscript (Deut 28:69) describing the text of Deuteronomy (cf. pp. 111-112 where Deuteronomy is shown to be described as 'the Book of the Covenant'). The 'Words of the Covenant' are also referred to in Jeremiah (11:2, 3, 6, 8) as being given to the ancestors of Israel at the time of the Exodus but broken by their descendants. This disobedience is characterized as 'going after other gods' (v. 10), which was banned in Deut 31:16, 29 (see Figure 2, p. 95 and n. 3). The Jeremiah references could have had this particular covenant text in mind, or they could simply be referring to the breaking of the special relationship between Yahweh and his people which is found throughout the OT.

One further mention of 'the words of the covenant' which 'they made before me; the calf which they cut in two and passed between its parts' is Jer 34:18. The aspect of the covenant which was broken is that of the sabbatical freeing of slaves (v. 14). This law is found in Deut 15:12-18. The only reference to the practice of dividing animals and passing between the parts is found in Gen 15:9-17, but this is not a part of a covenant text so the reference in Jer 34:18 could not be to these verses (see pp. 110-112).

One heading (Prov 31:1 - מלך משה אשר-יסרתו אמו / למואל דברי ) indicates the person to whom the words were directed, with their originator appearing only in a relative clause. The position of the Masoretic athnach shows that the Masoretes interpreted the משה as being a משה 'oracle' (cf. pp. 118-119). McKane and others have proposed that the accent is misplaced, משה being

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1. The verse is considered a unity by e.g. F. E. Wilms, Das Jahwistische Bundesbuch in Exodus 34 (München, 1973), p. 179.

instead a place name indicating the area of Lemuel's sovereignty (cf. Gen 25:14).<sup>1</sup> Scott changes the text to דברי לנואל מלך, leaving מִשָּׁא as 'a solemn injunction',<sup>2</sup> but the merits of his translation of מִשָּׁא was discussed above (p. 119, n. 1). As regards the syntax of the first phrase, the genitive construction can also denote possession, 'words belonging to Lemuel', being his because they were passed on to him by his mother, so there is no pressing need to emend the text since it is perfectly understandable as it is. Prov 30:1 (דברי אגור בן-יקה המִשָּׁא נאם הגבר לאתִּיאל) contains not only the genre indication 'word', similar in usage to Prov 31:1, but also two other such indicators, נאם and מִשָּׁא. The correlation of these three terms has already been discussed (p. 122-123).

Three texts have headings which describe their contents as either 'the "word" concerning the release' (שְׁמִטָה ; Deut 15:2), or 'the murderer who flees there (to a city of refuge) to live' (Deut 19:4) or 'the tax which Solomon levied' (1 Ki 9:15). The first two of these concern regulations for the governance of the practices referred to, while the third is a description of the historical background and reason for levying this tax. These uses show that דבר is a broad indication of genre rather than referring to one closely defined type of text.

One other text, 'the Matters (דברי) of the Kings of Israel' is referred to in 2 Chr 33:18 (see Figure 4, 9, p. 127). The first part of the clause parallels the form of other such references in Chronicles but the registering

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1. McKane, Proverbs, pp. 407-408; cf. also Toy, Proverbs, pp. 538-539; Wildeboer, Sprüche, pp. 89-90; Oesterley, Proverbs, p. 281; Ringgren, Sprüche pp. 118-119; BHS.

2. Scott, Proverbs, p. 183.

formula itself is different from the norm of Chronicles and Kings (cf. the parallel passage, 2 Ki 21:17, see p. 124, n. <sup>2</sup>above) in that no mention is made of anything being 'written' (כתובים) as in the other references. Also the form of the name of the book is unique. In Chronicles, the main sources are 'the Book of the Kings of Israel/Judah' (pp.126<sup>-127</sup>) while in Kings they are 'the Book of the Journal (דברי ימים) of the Kings of Judah/Israel' (p. 124). This reference is closest in form to those works referred to in Kings, but it is anomolous since the descriptions 'book' and 'daily' are missing. This could be a biform of the names in Kings, which would indicate that Kings was not referring to the Chronicles but to some third work which the writers of both books consulted. Rudolph, pointing out the reference in 2 Chr 33:18 to the 'words of the visionar<sup>ie</sup>s' (cf. 2 Chr 32:32, p. 127) suggests that the 'word' in 2 Chr 33:18 could simply be a separate part of the 'History of the Kings of Israel', therefore apparently identifying the book name there with the common, though formally different name 'Book of the Kings' used elsewhere in Chronicles.<sup>1</sup> The difference in form between these two names would weigh against this interpretation, however.

(b.) amatu

Akkadian amatu is used in headings of texts concerning a dictation of a person in authority. This person is indicated by inclusion in the formula amat X. Divine oracles rarely are given this heading plus a divine name. For example, an oracle is called abat <sup>d</sup>Nusku šī 'it is an oracle of Nusku', with the oracle itself immediately following in an NA letter (ABL 1217 r4). There are, however, no occurrences of the form in situ in a separate oracular

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1. Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 318.

text.<sup>1</sup>

The heading form is much more common in NB letters which start amat šarri. This heading is often the first element of the letter, but it can also immediately precede the body, following the opening salutations.<sup>2</sup> It is also used in correspondence from others in authority such as a princess (ABL 308:1; cf. also AnOr 8, 43:15; Dar. 27:3 - a governor). Although the genre indication does not provide very much information concerning the text itself, a comparative study of the use of the term in context shows that it is used more specifically for an authoritative message.

(c.) dibbu

dibbu is similar to דבר in that both have related verbal forms and much the same semantic range. Two NA letters (ABL 878, 1280) are headed as dibbī 'words' of someone, the first being those of the king (Assurbanipal?) while the second is broken. The heading apparently arises from the nature of the letters as dictated to the scribe and recited or read to the addressee (see 878:1 'which the Babylonians spoke [idbubū] before the king').

The element of authority which was associated with amatu, and possibly dibbu, although it is difficult to be certain because of the lack of examples, is also evident in a number of the cases in which דבר heads a text. The authority of Yahweh is brought when he is referred to ( p. 52 ) and it is also his authority with which his prophets are speaking when texts are designated as being their words. This is shown in Jer 36 in which Baruch wrote the 'words of Yahweh' (vv. 4, 6, 8, 11) which are also the 'words of Jeremiah'

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1. See H. Lutzmann, דבר I. 2 in TDOT III, pp. 91-94.

2. See references in CAD AII, p. 37 sub amatu A 4 b 1' e' and f'.

(v. 10). דבר has a wider use in different genres than did the Akkadian words (i.e. poetry and history) and it does not share the same concept of authority in all of its uses, at least as regards a command which must be followed. They are still authoritative in that they were recognized as official or at least worthy of preservation and repetition. In addition to indicating the authority which was attached to the text, 'words' indicates also that the text was originally oral, as opposed to spr, denoting written words (p. 94).

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#### (vi) Commentary

מדרש 'commentary' is a common literary genre of rabbinic interpretation,<sup>1</sup> but the word only occurs twice in the OT in the context of headings just discussed. Neither instance is a heading of a work but both are references, 2 Chr 13:22 to the 'Commentary of the Prophet Iddo' (see p. 117, cf. p. 132) and 2 Chr 24:27 to the 'Commentary of the Book of the Kings' (see p. 129). Both are sources from which further material came concerning the reigns of Abijah and Joash respectively, and both are quite similar to the other registering notices given by the Chronicler (see pp. 126-127). Both, however, are unknown, at least under these names. Iddo the prophet apparently worked during the reigns of Solomon, Jeroboam and Ahijah (see p. 132) and the two works attributed to him, a 'vision' (2 Chr 9:29) and this 'commentary' could be the same work or else two separate writings. Both, however, seem to contain the same sort of supplementary information about the activities of kings, so the first possibility appears stronger. The 'Commentary on the Book of the Kings' also contains this sort

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1. See the summary study in IDB Sup, pp. 593-597; for a more detailed study see E. E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (Tübingen, 1978), pp. 147-253.

of material, as did the 'Book of the Kings of Israel/Judah' (pp. 129, 135-136). These could again be the same work. It appears strange that such similar biforms of names would be used, but attention can be directed to the biforms of the 'Book of the Law' (pp. 94-105). There could be evidence in these two names of a single original designation which included two genre designations, the more general 'document' (ספר) and the more specific 'commentary' (מדרש). The noun מדרש, coming from the verb דרש 'to seek, enquire, investigate' could indicate that the work referred to is an 'investigation' into the kings, presenting a fuller account of their activities, rather than simply a commentary on an existing work. The lack of OT uses of the word, however, and the different rabbinical use of it, make this possibility uncertain.

#### (vii) ברכה

Another area of interpersonal relationships is indicated by the Hebrew ברכה 'blessing'. This only occurs as the genre indicator in a heading in Deut 33:1, 'This is the blessing which Moses, the man of God, blessed the Israelites before his death'. This heading was added to provide the historical background for the following verses. The genre indicator has to be made specific by a relative clause in order to make it clear enough to be discernable from other members of the same genre. No reference is made elsewhere to this blessing using this designation, but the 'Blessing of Abraham' concerning the inheritance of the land (Gen 15:7) is referred to in Gen 28:4. In the Gen 15 passage, however, the blessing is not given this genre description.

(viii) Correspondence is not indicated by headings in the OT, but letters are referred to in their historical introduction or in other places as כתב (2 Chr 2:10; cf. pp. 25-27, 151), ספר (/ <sup>p. 94</sup> and passim), the Persian



loan word נִשְׁחַרְחַר (Ezra 4:7, 18; 5:5; 7:11), and the Akkadian loan word אגרת (Esth 9:26, 29; Neh 2:7, 8, 9; 6:5, 17, 19; 2 Chr 30:1, 6). In Aramaic אגרתא is used as a reference either to another letter (e.g. AP 30, passim, 31:17, 18, 28; 37:15; 38:10; 40:3; 41:5; AD 10:2; 12:1, 4) or to itself (e.g. AP 42:7; Vattioni, Augustinianum 10, pp. 493-532, no. 19, 20). This word is not used in the heading of Akkadian letters as an indication of the genre of the document, but it does refer to other letters or to the document in which it occurs. For example, one NA letter is described in its heading as 'this is the rest of the matters of the previous letter' (ABL 435), referring to a letter known to the addressee.<sup>1</sup> One second century AD letter on papyrus, however, is headed אגרת ושמעון בר יוסבס.<sup>2</sup> This use of the word as a heading is apparently a late development which could have been the coinage of this particular scribe, although lack of other letters makes this hard to determine. אגרת is also used on an Aramaic docket for an NA Akkadian contract (CIS ii 30 - אגרת כספא זי על זבן ; cf. 37:1 - אגרת on a broken text), so it appears to have a second meaning as 'contract'.<sup>3</sup>

t̪m 'message, decree' is used in Ugaritic to head letters. The form is most commonly t̪m PN<sub>1</sub> 1-PN<sub>2</sub> (address) + rgm (messenger clause - optional) + greeting, although sometimes the form is modified by putting 1-PN<sub>2</sub>.rgm before t̪m. t̪m is also used within the body of letters to refer to other members of the same genre. Akkadian letters, however, even those found at Ugarit, are significantly different in form. The address and messenger clauses are

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1. For other references see CAD E, pp. 45-46 sub egirtu.
2. 5/6Hev 4:1 in IEJ 11 (1961), p. 43.
3. See DISO, p. 4 sub אגרת 2.

present, but the genre indication is not.<sup>1</sup> It is also lacking in Aramaic<sup>2</sup> and Hebrew<sup>3</sup> letters, as are all such indications of genre as part of the heading,<sup>4</sup> although the address and messenger clauses are quite similar to those in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

(ix) 'Proverb'

The Hebrew מִשְׁל 'proverbial saying'<sup>5</sup> also fits into this 'communication' category since, as will be shown, its form is dictated by tradition or some external source. The word has a wide semantic range with both negative and positive connotations.<sup>6</sup> Collections of sayings are referred to as מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה (Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1). Solomon is recorded to have written three thousand of such sayings (1 Ki 5:12). A number of individual sayings are noted as being of the 'proverb' genre (1 Sam 10:12; Isa 14:4; Ezek 12:22, cf. v. 23; 17:2 referring to v. 3; 18:2, 3; 24:3; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6; cf. Num 23:7; 18; 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23). The genre indicator is not specific enough to show which proverb is meant; this is determined by the context. A מִזְמֹר is associated with the idea of the distant past explicitly in 1 Sam 24:13 and Ps 78:2 (מִנִּי קִדְמֹנִי / קִדְמֹנִי respectively). It

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1. For a study of the Akkadian epistolary heading form see Fisher, Parallels II, pp. 198-207.

2. See Fitzmyer, JBL 93 (1974), p. 210; cf. DAE, pp. 123-168 for examples of letters; note the late exception mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

3. E.g. Torczyner, Lachish I, texts 2, 6; KA, passim; cf. Lemaire, Inscriptions.

4. See Pardee, JBL 97 (1978), p. 331.

5. For a discussion of the basic meaning of the word as a literary form with two parallel stichoi, see Harrison, Introduction, pp. 1010-1011.

6. See e.g. Fohrer, Introduction, p. 311. To become a proverb was often a bad thing, see e.g. Deut 28:37; 1 Ki 9:7; Jer 24:9; Ezek 14:8; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6; Ps 44:15; 69:12; 2 Chr 7:20, but not always so, see Ps 49:5; Eccl 12:9 (related to knowledge); cf. Job 13:12 where useless things are called 'proverbs of ashes'.

is also implicit in other passages referring to statements called מִשָּׁל that will be or have been preserved in a fixed form, e.g. 1 Sam 10:12; Ezek 12:22; 18:2. 'Proverbs' appear to have been derived mainly from human tradition, although Balaam's unwilling utterances in support of Israel which Yahweh compelled him to speak are also called מִשָּׁל (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23). The apparent overarching feature in the uses of the word is that of the mandatory form of the saying, whether it was fixed in the past and preserved by tradition, or whether it was said in a certain way because of compulsion by Yahweh.

#### (x) זִכְרוֹן

Another genre heading indicating a transfer of information between two time periods is זִכְרוֹן 'memorial, memorandum'. It is used only once to refer to a document in the OT.

This work is referred to by its title as 'Book of the Memorial, Journal'<sup>1</sup> (סֵפֶר הַזִּכְרוֹנוֹת דְּבָרֵי יָמִים) in Esth 6:1. In it was recorded the incident in which Mordecai unearthed a plot to kill the Persian king (cf. Esth 2:21-23a). This event was said to have been recorded at the time it occurred, but the book in which it was entered was entitled simply 'Book of the Journal' (Esth 2:23b). The reference in each book to the same event indicates that the two book names are only bi-forms of the title of the same work.<sup>2</sup> Also in Esther is recorded the name of the 'Book of the Journal of the Kings of Media and Persia' (10:2), in which Mordecai's deeds are also recorded. This is possibly another form of the name of the same work, more specifically

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1. See p. 124, n. 1.

2. See Gerleman, Esther, p. 86.

indicating the contents of the book.<sup>1</sup>

Books with designations similar to these are given in two other passages. Mal 3:16 tells of Yahweh's recording those faithful to him in a 'book of memorial' (ספר זכרון) but this does not appear to be the title of any specific work but rather is indicative of the genre (cf. Exod 32:32f; Isa 4:3; Ezek 13:9; Ps 69:29; 87:6;<sup>2</sup> also Revelation 20:12-15) since it does not use a definite article. Ezra 4:15 refers to the 'Book of Memorial' of the Persian kings' ancestors in which record could be found of Jerusalem being a rebellious city. This could well be similar to the work referred to in Esther, cf. especially Esth 10:2. Probably what is meant, however, are the Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, since these nations, rather than the Persians, were those with previous contacts with Jerusalem. The Persians, having defeated the Babylonians and taken over from them, could have considered the Babylonians their 'fathers' since they were succeeding them.<sup>3</sup> The document referred to in Ezra could be similar to the annals of Sennacherib, which record Jerusalem's rebellion against Assyria.<sup>4</sup>

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1. So the LXX which adds μνημοσυνη to 2:23 and 10:2; cf. also Paton, Esther, p. 192, but on p. 304 he argues against 10:2 being the same book as that referred to in the other verses since the deeds of Mordecai would not be entered into a royal annal, but could be in a private diary; Gerleman, Esther, p. 144 sees the relationship between the titles as unclear; C. A. Moore, Esther, p. 99 also holds the identification of the books as unlikely. People other than those occupying the throne are mentioned in royal annals, however, e.g. Assyrian and Babylonian - ABC, p. 82:39 (šaknu), 43 (lūšandabakku), 48 (lūrāb bīti; cf. also p. 125:6 and passim); p. 123:5 (lūpahat); Israelite - e.g. prophet (1 Ki 13:11-32; 17-18 and passim); king's wife (1 Ki 14:2-17); Naboth (1 Ki 21:1-16); Naaman (2 Ki 5); Athaliah (2 Ki 11) so the argument against non-royalty in annals cannot be maintained.

2. See Rudolph, Haggai, p. 288.

3. See Rudolph, Esra, p. 45.

4. OIP II, ii 73-iii 30.

A book which is not referred to by title but which has similar content to those just discussed, is mentioned in Exod 17:14 in which Moses was to record Amalek's opposition to Israel 'for a memorial in the book'. There is no other mention of a book in the context to which the definite article could refer as a quasi-demonstrative pronoun. The record of the destruction (מח) of Amalek due to their opposition to Israel is mentioned only in Deut 25:17-19, so this appears to be the 'book' referred to which Moses was to write. As already noted (p. 95), Deuteronomy does refer to itself as a 'book' and is also referred to elsewhere as such. Therefore, the reference in Exodus uses the correct identification as a ספר, although no mention is made elsewhere of Deuteronomy having to do with a זכרון.<sup>1</sup>

זכרון alone is used once to refer to a document in Aramaic. One text (AP 32) is headed זכרון זי נבארהי ודליה Memorandum of Bgwhy and Dlyh'. The heading is written to people in Egypt by these two in a different pen than that used in the body of the text.<sup>2</sup> The text is again called a 'memorandum' (1.2) and concerns the rebuilding of a temple and the re-establishment of the cultic offerings. It appears that instructions concerning these matters had been sent previously and this note was to serve as a reminder, although this is speculative since the proposed first message is not extant. It has been suggested that this parallels Ezra 6:2 in which a scroll was kept as a זכרון in the Babylonian archives.<sup>3</sup> It is also possible that a later

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1. Cf. Deut 25:19 and 32:26 where זכר is mentioned, the first in the passage discussed and the second not being a relevant context for this discussion.

2. AP, pp. 122-123.

3. See AP, p. 123; Fitzmyer, JBL 93, p. 210.

redactor added this heading to explain the text (see DAE, p. 415 and also AP, p. 123 where the insertions do not correspond to the right-hand margins of the other lines of the text). Even if this were a later insertion, the original text would have had the same heading which is found in 1. 2, as noted above, the text still being called a memorandum.

Other simple lists are also headed זכר (e.g. AP 61:1, 10; 63:10, 12, 14) but they do not provide further information as to the meaning of the word since it is not clear how these lists were used or why they were written, though, due to the meaning of the root זכר, they are inventories made for later reference.

### iii. LISTS

#### (a.) Hebrew

Hebrew does not use any separate general genre description at the head of lists. Many, however, have headings which delineates their contents. The chief indication of the beginning of a list is the plural demonstrative pronoun הָאֵלֶּה followed by the content. The same form also occurs commonly as a subscript (see p. 34 and passim). Occurrence of this form is too frequent to discuss in detail and nothing further would be gained by such a discussion. One set of verses with הָאֵלֶּה are those which describe the תולדות 'history' of people (Gen 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2; Num 3:1; Ruth 4:18; 1 Chr 1:29; cf. Num<sup>1</sup> passim) and once of 'the heaven and the earth' (Gen 2:4) and occur at the heading or subscript of a passage (see pp. 41-43 and Appendix C, pp. 363-375). This is the one case where the genre is indicated in addition to the הָאֵלֶּה. At times, when a single item is

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1. References to the occurrences are listed in Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 1284-1285.

presented in detail, the heading starts with a singular demonstrative pronoun (זֶה / זֵאת ) and then gives the description of the item, almost as a list of one item, e.g. זֵאת עֲבֹדַת מִשְׁפַּחַת אֲנִי Num 4:24, 28, 33.

Sometimes Hebrew lists are headed immediately with an indication of the subject of the list without an introductory demonstrative pronoun. As a number of lists were headed אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֲנִי (e.g. Gen 10:20, 31; 36:5 and passim) so some are headed simply בְּנֵי אֲנִי (e.g. Gen 10:22; 35:23 and passim). This form of heading is also used in extra-biblical Hebrew sources, such as the heading חֲמִישׁ 'wheat' heading lists of people and quantities from Arad (KA 31,<sup>1</sup> 33).

(b.) Akkadian

Similar lists occur on Akkadian tablets with the designation tuppu ša X in which the subject of the list is delineated, e.g. tuppu ša 6 anše 'tablet concerning six ass-loads' (HSS XVI, 3 case); tuppu ša še.meš<sup>ti</sup> ša <sup>uru</sup>Y 'tablet concerning the grain of the town Y' (HSS XVI, 227 - Nuzi);<sup>2</sup> dub še.ba.é ša <sup>itu</sup>Z 'tablet concerning the barley ration of the month Z' (SLB I 80; cf. 78, 81, 82, 84); dub hašib gi.sá.ḫi.a (169; OB).

Some Akkadian lists also begin simply with an indication of the content of the list without any preamble. These can be of commodities (e.g. naptanum 'meal' - SLB I, 54; cf. nikassu 'account' - VAS VII 142) or even pieces of literature (e.g. sag.meš éš.gàr maš.maš-ti ša ana iḫzi u tāmarti kunnu napḫar mu.ne 'first lines of the corpus of texts of the exorcists which have been set for teaching and referral. The sum of its lines' - KAR 44:1, cf. r. 4 -

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1. Called a 'title' by Aharoni, KA, p. 58.

2. Also e.g. tuppu kuruštaenā - HSS XIII 57 case; XIV 505; cf. 44:2; see HSS XVI 329.

see JCS 16, 68).

Some Akkadian lists have a special genre indicator as part of the heading.

(i). amīrtu 'list, inventory' when used as a heading in NB Akkadian texts, is used of itemized lists of numbers of such things as cattle used in offerings (amīrtu makkur <sup>d</sup>līstar u <sup>d</sup>Nanâ; YOS 6, 130:1) or lambs belonging to shepherds (amīrtu ša kalūmē ša <sup>lú</sup>sipa. meš (2) ša <sup>d</sup>utu ša arki epiš šá.ru ina kur <sup>i</sup>ammur - date; Pinches Peek 3). The word itself indicates the literary genre of the document while the subsequent clauses indicate the specific content.<sup>1</sup>

Although the term amīrtu is a descriptive heading it does not always occur as the first element of the text. In YOS 6, 130:1 (see above) for example, the text surface is divided into a grid system with different information recorded in each of the various columns. The beginning columns give the numbers of the animals concerned, while the right-hand column contains the heading designating the text's genre. In a number of other lists with a similar form (SLB 1, 52 and passim in SLB 1) the right-hand column is headed as mu.bi.im 'its name'. Usually this is a note concerning the items listed in the relevant line, but here it is a note concerning the text as a whole. Another form of the heading is found in Camb. 239 where the content of the text is first given (uz.tur.mušen ama.meš) before noting the genre (amīrtu ša ina igi <sup>lú</sup>sipa).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Another example of this form of heading is Cyr. 197:1.

2. See also Nbk. 459:1 - še.bar amīrtu ša <sup>lú</sup>uru.meš; Cyr. 117:1.



(ii). kappu 'list'<sup>1</sup> heads one NA tablet (ABL 512:1), a list of fourteen officials (<sup>lú</sup>eribūte) with the indication that the text is a kap<sup>2</sup>-pu Id Nabû-zēr-lîšir ana <sup>lú</sup>gal é.gal 'list of Nabû-zēr-lîšir to the chief-steward'. The lack of other examples makes further comment on this form of no value.

(iii). kiširtu 'tablet, list' heads one MA and two NA economic texts (KAJ 241 b, case 1; ADD 50:1 and 52:1 respectively). Ungnad tentatively translated the word in the NA texts as 'a sum',<sup>3</sup> but the use of the word with ša pî 'according to' in KAJ 311:45 indicates that some kind of text is meant.<sup>4</sup> In ADD 51:1, this genre designation is preceded by the more general designation <sup>na</sup>4kišib Id šar.apin (see pp. 151-152). Again the form is too rare to say more than that it appears to be limited to texts of economic content, namely transactions involving one type of goods as a unit (e.g. silver, cattle) rather than as an itemized list with the numbers of each commodity being the important matter, such as those texts designated as amīrtu (see p. 147).

(iv). qātu 'hand; document' is used in OB itemized economic lists such as amounts of corn or barley gleaned in a day from a field (SLB 1, 95:1; 125:1).<sup>5</sup> The most common form of the heading is: (i) qāti, (ii) material

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1. One of several homonyms from different roots: (i) knp, cf. קנף 'wing', see AHW, p. 444 sub kappu(m) I and CAD K, pp. 185-187 sub kappu A 1; (ii) kpp cf. קפף 'hand', see ibid., p. 187 sub kappu A 2; AHW, p. 444 sub kappu(m) II.

2. CAD K, p. 187 sub kappu A 2 b.

3. ARU, pp. 190, 200.

4. So understood by CAD K, p. 436 sub kiširtu 4 and AHW, p. 488 sub kiširtu(m) 5.

5. See SLB 1, 133:1 concerning flour and 94, 96, 97, 160.

concerned, (iii) date. In one case (SLB 1, 127:1) the exact material concerned has been elided. Instead of something like še liqtatim a.šà (95:1), only a.šà remains to give some indication of the material concerned. The dating element in each case shows that the records are only for a certain defined period of time such as a day's gleanings (95:1) or one year's grain supply (160:1). Generally the heading only occurs at the beginning of the text, but in 160, a line divides the text after 1. 9 and a new heading, which is partially broken, starts a new line. Each text consists of a numbered list of amounts and appears to be the equivalent of the NB amīrtu (p. 147). qātu could be understood, however, as meaning 'portion' which is one of its uses from the OAkk to MA periods.<sup>1</sup> These tablets would then be described according to their contents, being the portion of material per unit of time, rather than the document being labelled as a list. While this proposal is supported by the use of the word in this semantic area from other periods besides the OB, the interpretation of qātu as 'list' is not ruled out since there does not appear to be other OB words which are used to designate lists of this type, the others discussed previously being from later periods.

(c.) Ugaritic and Aramaic

חשבון 'account, reckoning' is used only twice in a late OT text (Eccl 7:25, 27) and does not serve as a heading or as a reference to a specific text. The word does serve these functions in Aramaic and Ugaritic, however. The Ugaritic text KTU 4.337 has the heading 'Account document (spr.ḥtbn) of the men of Sardis'. This clause, followed by a line, heads a

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1. AHW, p. 910 sub qātu(m) C 1-4; cf. the contemporary and later use of the word used of fractions, ibid. 5.

list of quantities of a number of different items (e.g. metal, garments, grain).<sup>1</sup> The Aramaic text (AP 81) is a lengthy (138 lines) list of produce headed "Account document concerning the agricultural products which I wrote".<sup>2</sup> In both languages an itemized list is meant, similar to the Akkadian amīrtu (p. 147) and qātu (pp. 148-149).

#### iv. Document

Some Semitic texts do not contain any further information concerning their genre other than the note that they are a 'document' of some kind.

##### (a.) Hebrew

Some Hebrew texts headed as 'document' also are further defined by a proper name. It is not clear if the person named is the author/originator as in Akkadian and Ugaritic. The 'Book of Yahweh' is referred to in Isa 34:16. Most commentators have argued that this is a reference to some form of the book of Isaiah itself.<sup>3</sup> This could be an allusion to Yahweh's speaking through the prophet (see e.g. 8:1, 5, 11; 10:24 and passim) although this is a common feature to all prophecy, so all could be so named. The 'Book of Yashar'<sup>4</sup> is mentioned in Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18. Wiseman has proposed that the work could be 'a collection of legal edicts and the situations in which

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1. Cf. KTU 4.158 (1) tt.mat.ksp (2) ḥṭbn ybnn followed by a line and then an itemized list.

2. החבית ; so DAE, p. 106 following J. Harmatta, Irano-Aramaica (Budapest, 1959) ad loc.

3. E.g. Delitzsch, Isaiah II, p. 75; Dillmann, Jesaia, p. 306; Marti, Jesaja, p. 245; Duhm, Jesaia, p. 253; Young, Isaiah II, p. 442; Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, p. 359.

4. ספר הישר or 'Book of the Upright' (see Fohrer, Introduction, p. 279; cf. Soggin, Joshua, p. 117 'Book of the Just').

they occur,<sup>1</sup> based on the meaning of the root יָשַׁר . If Yashar is a proper name, nothing is known about him or his relationship to the text. One OT text has a heading which describes it as a 'document' but supplies further information concerning its content, as distinct from its genre. The 'Book of the Wars of Yahweh' is referred to in Num 21:14 in a passage concerning Israel's wanderings in Sinai. Gray proposed that this book could be the same as that of Yashar, the latter possibly being the incipit.<sup>2</sup> While being an attractive suggestion, it cannot be proven. The phrase 'wars of Yahweh' only occurs in 1 Sam 18:17; 25:28 referring to David's battles. While these would have been anachronistic to be put into the time of the wilderness wanderings, they do show the common use of the phrase, which might have acquired a fixed form due to its use in the title of this work.

Some Semitic texts are designated as being 'written documents', although this is used only as a reference to other texts and is not found in any heading. Six times כָּתָב is used to refer to a written document which is stated in the context (Esth 3:14; 4:8; 8:8, 13; 9:27; Esra 4:7). Once the word is used of a letter (2 Chr 2:10), but the other occurrences of it indicate that the term is usually used to indicate a list. Some were actual documents such as the list of instructions for building the temple written by Yahweh and given by David to Solomon (1 Chr 28:19 - הָכֵל בְּכַתֵּב מִיַּד יְהוָה עָלֵי הַשְּׂכִיל - (כל מלאכות החבניות)).

An Akkadian word for document is kunukku (kišib) which means 'seal, seal impression' and by extension is applied to any sealed document, legal and

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1. D. J. Wiseman, 'Law and Order in Old Testament Times', Vox Evangelica 8 (1973), p. 14.

2. J. Gray, Joshua, p. 111.

administrative, and is even used of letters.<sup>1</sup> The word itself does not provide other information concerning the text, but usually it is used in conjunction with a person's name,<sup>2</sup> as are some occurrences of tuppu, although this is fairly limited to NA letters. They used a slightly expanded form of this heading by saying tuppi(dub) PN<sub>1</sub> ana PN<sub>2</sub> 'tablet of X for Y',<sup>3</sup> indicating the originator and the addressee, but still providing no information concerning the text content, though the restriction of this form to the letter genre indicates the type of text. This is not discernable from the heading itself, however, but only from external comparisons. There does not appear to be any difference between letters which begin with this formula and those which tuppu is lacking. In each case, the person named appears to be the owner of the document or else its author/originator.

The word 'document' (spr and cognates; tuppu) is thus used in Semitic texts to designate sources which were written rather than oral. It is used as a self-identification in some texts but is also used to make reference to another document for some purpose. It is used in Akkadian, Hebrew and Ugaritic headings but is not yet known for extra-biblical Hebrew, Aramaic or Phoenician/Punic as a heading.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See CAD K, pp. 543-547 sub kunukku; AHW, pp. 507-508 sub kunukku(m). Texts can be described as 'sealed' even if no seal per se is used but rather a hem (sissiktum), nail-impression (suprum) or even if a blank space is left (apparently where the seal would have been placed). For references see J. Renger, 'Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia', Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East, ed. M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs (Malibu, 1977), p. 77 and nn. 33-41.

2. E.g. TCL 1, 76; CT 4, 50b-on the case (OB), Wiseman, Treaties, p. 29 first line, CIS iii 15:1; 17:1; 18:1 and passim in NA texts.

3. E.g. Pinches Peek 10; CT 22, 19; ABL 345, 409 and passim; cf. the inverted form ana PN<sub>2</sub> dub PN<sub>1</sub> - e.g. ABL 1201.

4. Cf. DISO, pp. 196-197 sub ܫܫܝܩܬܐ III.

The use of these headings with 'document' as part of them, and in particular the reference to other documents with such headings, has important implications as regards oral versus written transmission of texts. They indicate that records were kept concerning state matters which could be referred to from as early as the beginning of the Israelite monarchy with David, as well as prophetic sources, which in some aspects overlapped and supplemented the historical records, from as early as the eighth century. Also, records were made of the important legal codes which were to govern the lives of the people. While these, or at least part of them, were probably memorised and recited, they were also written and referred to from this written form.

#### C. COMPARISON OF HEADINGS AND SUBSCRIPTS

Both headings and subscripts are descriptions of the texts to which they are appended. While there are overlaps in the form and function of these two conventions, they are different to a significant extent and so are not redundant.

It was noted that subscripts, in particular colophons, could contain information concerning 'bibliography', personnel, and other miscellaneous particulars (pp. 19-20). Colophons serve to unambiguously identify the text as far as source, ownership, provenience, and relevant cataloguing information is concerned. They would have been useful in handling a document qua document, in which both vehicle and text are considered as a unit.<sup>1</sup>

Literary considerations and matters of content were of only marginal interest

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1. See pp. 18-27.

in the compilation of this data. On the other hand, this literary information was of primary importance in summary subscripts and headings of texts. These were interested in the piece of literature itself and served to describe it, rather than the document in which it was recorded. While the colophon could contain some of the same information as the heading, since a possible element of the colophon was the catchline of the next tablet in a series (a.1), this information was only given in a colophon for the sake of classification rather than for literary appreciation.

This difference in perspective is also associated with a difference in function between headings and subscripts. Subscripts, especially colophons, were added to existing texts when they were copied either for archives or as school texts.<sup>1</sup> They were appended to the text in order to record the necessary information for cataloguing purposes, much like our title pages or bibliographic entries. The headings, however, serve a completely different function. They were to identify a text not by catalogue information but by text-type and/or content, for the purposes of referral to it from another work. This is clearly shown by the use of incipits and was also noted when sub-headings were used, such as those in Lev 1-7 and the Punic Tariffs (pp. 395-401/), so that quick reference could be made to the relevant portion of the text in its actual cultic use. The second type of subscripts, i.e. summaries, seem to serve yet another function. Since they do not generally occur at the very end of a document, they are not readily accessible for cataloguing purposes.

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1. See Leichty, 'Colophons', p. 147 'the ancient Mesopotamian scribe, when copying . . . texts frequently appended a colophon to his copy'; Hunger, Kolophone, p. 1 'ein Kolophone ist eine von Text getrennte Notiz' (emphasis is mine).

They do not, on the other hand, have the reference function often associated with headings. Their main function, apart from describing the text-section immediately before, appears to bring one subsection to a close before starting with another. This function is shared to some extent by both headings and colophons, as will be noted in the next chapter (p. 237).

These observations are also relevant to the date of the text description relative to the date of the body of the text itself. Descriptive subscripts, such as colophons with their secondary character, were added subsequent to the original text.<sup>1</sup> Many continued in use for some time, although there is no a priori reason why a colophon could not have been added to the very first copy of a text, so resulting in its possible occurrence within the lifetime of the original author.

Summary subscripts and headings, on the other hand, are not so easily dated on a relative scale. They also could be secondary additions in some cases, though they could equally well have been appended by the original writer of the text. This is necessarily the case for incipits, since they are by definition an integral part of the text. The other descriptions could also have arisen with the original text, or they could have been added by some scribe in the person of a later editor who reworked or combined the work with others. This could also have been in close temporal proximity to the autograph text, though the additional could have been made at any subsequent time, with the terminus ante quem being the earliest extant copy of the text which includes the description. Since it has been argued that parts of the OT

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1. See P: 38.



achieved canonical status as early as the Mosaic period,<sup>1</sup> which is the period during which the Torah itself claims to have been substantially compiled (see e.g. Exod 24:7; Deut 27:2-3, 8; 31:9; cf. Josh 1:8), and since a canonical book would not be open to alteration, those text descriptions which occur in the Torah could date from the time of Moses and could have been added by his hand. In any case, it is possible to respond to Leichty and say that we believe that the colophon (and other text descriptions) could prove to be a valuable source not only for lexicography and literary history but also for history per se.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See S. F. Leiman, The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence (Hamden: Archon Books, 1976), especially p. 26; cf. M. Kline, The Structure of Biblical Authority (2nd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); for a later, 6th cent. BC date for the final canonization of the Law, see D. N. Freedman, 'The Law and the Prophets', VTSup 9 (1963), pp. 250-265.

2. Leichty, 'Colophon', p. 154.

## CHAPTER II

### Division Markers

In addition to appending textual descriptions at the beginning and end of texts (Chapter I), a scribe was able to determine the inner structure of texts to some extent. This chapter consists of an analysis of one aspect of this inner structuring, namely the indicators of divisions within the overall unity of the text. Some of these division indicators are overt and extra-textual, since they concern the physical form of the text. They are observable without a reading of the document itself since they do not involve the language, style or other internal, linguistic elements of the content of the work.<sup>1</sup> These will be discussed in section A in relation to the OT text and in comparison with extra-biblical Hebrew documents, the Qumran material, and texts from cognate languages. Other divisions are marked by the literary framework and content of the text.<sup>2</sup> These will be discussed, in section B, followed by a study of any relationship which might exist between the textual and extra-textual division markers in section C.

The following analysis differentiates between the linguistic levels at which divisions occur. The order of the levels follows that used, though not formally enumerated, by Andersen.<sup>3</sup> These levels are: (1) Word, (2) Phrase, (3) Clause, (4) Sentence, (5) Paragraph, (6) Episode, (7) Story, (8) Saga.<sup>4</sup> Grammars have traditionally

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1. Called 'etic' elements by Schicklberger, TZ 34 (1978), p. 69 and n.19.

2. Called 'emic' elements, ibid.

3. Andersen, Sentence.

4. See ibid., pp. 22-23, 61, 63.

concentrated on the first four of these levels in the areas of phonology, morphology and syntax. Recent developments in discourse analysis, however, have shown the importance of the higher levels in which the sentences, etc. are imbedded.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will also discuss some of these higher levels in addition to some of the lower ones, although not all will be equally relevant to the subject of this thesis.

In the writing systems under discussion, each individual sign, whether letter, syllable or logogram, is written separately from the preceding and following signs.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the connected, 'cursive' type of system such as that used in Arabic, or English 'longhand', does not occur. Therefore, on the lowest linguistic level of the individual sign there is generally no difficulty in determining the sign boundary. This is true at least on the theoretical level of well-written and well-spaced documents, an ideal commonly unfulfilled. Sign divisions, therefore, will not be discussed further.

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1. The literature relating to this relatively recently developed discipline is far too extensive to cite in toto. Discourse analysis is described in J. Grimes, The Thread of Discourse (The Hague, 1976) and R.E. Longacre, The Anatomy of Speech Notions (Lisse, 1976) among others.

Although not always acknowledging the use of discourse analysis, studies using forms of this methodology are being undertaken in OT studies, e.g. in the work of J. Muilenberg (JBL 88 [1969], pp. 1-18), S. McEvenue (Style), G. Coats (Canaan), W.A. Smalley (Amos) and many others (see collections of studies in J.J. Jackson and M. Kessler, Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenberg [Pittsburgh, 1974]; K.R.R. Gros Louis, et al., Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives [Nashville, 1974]).

2. In the cuneiform system of writing, some signs are written as ligatures, being composites of two signs, but these are quite restricted in number; see Labat, Manuel, pp. 6-7. Some signs are derived from two historically distinct signs which have united, e.g. nag from ka+a, šar from lú+gal, ág from ninda + izi (?), etc.

## A. EXTRA-TEXTUAL DIVISION MARKERS

Extra-textual markers are of two types, those consisting of a mark of some kind on the document itself and those in which blank spaces were left. These spaces at times are ambiguous as to their significance, which may be determined by the context. Marks on a document, unless they are accidental or are unrelated to the transcription system,<sup>1</sup> are always significant and can themselves be classified into those which are meaningful in other contexts, such as letter-forms, and those which are restricted to marking textual divisions such as rulings.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of texts are laid out in such a way so as not to fill the entire surface completely with writing. Thus, when there is ample space for the text, the presence of blank spaces may be of no significance. For example, wide spacings between lines or between letters, or a blank space left at the end of a text, could indicate that the scribe had more space on the document than necessary for the subject matter so used up the surface by spacing out the text.<sup>3</sup> In other texts, space was left because of some irregularity in the vehicle.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Some marks are due to irregularities in the vehicle and have nothing to do with the writing system itself, but are only incidental, e.g. those imperfections in the leather of lQIs<sup>a</sup> iv, viii:1, ix between ll. 2-3, 8-9 and passim. Other marks are made on the vehicle, but have nothing to do with the text content, e.g. the holes in clay tablets which aided in the baking process - e.g. among many examples, Rm 376 in AS 16, pp. 287-288 (MA); CT 18, 8a; 47a (NA); BM 45684 r(?) in Grayson, Historical-Literary, p. 95 (NB).

2. Rulings at the end of sections are common in all periods of Akkadian literature as well as in Ugaritic, Aramaic and Phoenician.

3. E.g. Rimah 2,3,221,227,244 and passim (OB); BWL pl.11:121 ff; 61 iii 30ff; CT 38, 1:15b; 3:55; 39,50<sup>b</sup> r 4 (NA) plus many others.

4. See Sanders DJD IV, p. 14 and other examples in the Dead Sea Texts; cf. also Akkadian texts, especially legal documents, where a seal impression occurs in the middle of a text. Examples are very numerous, but see three examples in one small collection of MAss texts in Assur 3 (1980), pp. 7,16,21.

Spaces can, however, be significant. For example, space at the end of a tablet has already been shown to be potentially significant as an indication of a conscious division between tablets of a series (pp. 74-76). Similarly as regards space within a tablet, the wide spaces left within lines between signs in some texts<sup>1</sup> or alternatively, the cramped signs and the carry-over of the text as an indented end of line in other texts<sup>2</sup> could indicate that a canonical original was being followed slavishly since the number of lines was considered fixed so that they could not be combined or separated.<sup>3</sup>

Horizontal spacing may also be meaningful when space is left at the ends of lines, especially on the left margin. This can also provide information concerning the divisions on the various levels which will be discussed.

In contrast to arrangement by spacing or lack of marking, which at times may be significant, marks indicating divisions are always significant since they are direct evidence of scribal activity. Therefore, if present, such marks are of more consistent value than spacing to determine text divisions. Many texts do not have division marks, however, so it is important also to use spacing as well as internal, textual information for guidance.

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1. See n.3 on page 159.

2. E.g. UET 6/1, 4:2, 6 and passim; 6:r.4 (Epic of Ninurta); 8 ii 1, 6,8,11; 9:22,23,24,25 (two indented lines!; Ishtar's descent); 22:17,18 and passim (Tale of Geshtinanna and Dumuzi); UET 6/2, 133:38,47 (lament); UET 8,85:1,2 (nail) 8:8',13',14',34' (nail) OB; CT 39, 38:11,13; RAcc. 5:32; 6:37; 8:12 (NA), Hunger SbTU I, 50:43 (NB). Cf. also AfO 12 (1939), p. 107:21 and n. 12 for an example of the end of one line carried over into the next in an Aramaic text in cuneiform.

3. See Horwitz, UF 9 (1977), pp. 123-130, especially p. 126 regarding the copying of Ugaritic texts.

On the word level, several different methods are used to indicate divisions. In the MT, spaces can separate the words, as can the final form of five of the Hebrew letters, i.e. ך, ם, ן, ף, and ץ. This latter practice began when the Aramaic 'square letter' system of writing was adopted in the fourth-third cent. B.C.<sup>1</sup> In early Aramaic, final matres lectiones could also be a guide to word boundaries.

When these were later included in the middle of words as well by the eighth cent. BC, they could no longer be used to determine divisions.<sup>2</sup> Millard has surveyed the evidence from early and classical Hebrew as well as Canaanite, Phoenician (early and late), Ammonite, Moabite, and Old and Imperial Aramaic texts,<sup>3</sup> and has concluded 'that word-division was normal amongst the majority of West-Semitic scribes'<sup>4</sup> either by spacing, by a small horizontal line, or by dots between words, except for a few specific cases where syntax affected word division.<sup>5</sup> Texts published since Millard's article further confirm his observations:-

## I. Horizontal Strokes

### A. Ammonite

Siran inscription (Thompson and Zayadine, BASOR 212 [1973], pp. 5-11.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See Cross, 'Development', especially pp. 142-144.
2. See Cross and Freedman, Orthography, pp. 32-33, 58-59.
3. Millard, JSS 15 (1970), pp. 2-15.
4. Ibid., p. 12.
5. Words not separated are listed in ibid., p. 15.
6. The strokes occur in four(or possibly five) of the eighteen places where word boundaries occur at places other than the end of the line (ll. 2 - one time; 4 - three times). One of these separates the copula and definite article from the noun (4: wh.gnt; cf. the immediately following wh'thr), possibly due to the engravers unfamiliarity with the language (so BASOR 212, p. 5).

Seal of Swḥr (N. Avigad 'Ammonite and Moabite Seals',  
Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, ed.  
 J.A. Sanders (Garden City, 1970), pp. 286-287 = IR 24;  
 after both words though on different registers).

Seal of Aliah (N. Avigad, 'Seals', EM 3, pl. 4 = IR 25).

#### B. Aramaic

Deir 'Alla (Deir 'Alla; even at the ends of lines<sup>1</sup>).

#### II. Dots

##### Hebrew

##### 1. Ninth cent. BC

Arad (KA; A.F. Rainey, Tel Aviv 4 [1977], pp. 97-102.

Not used consistently, but sometimes found at the end  
 of a line or even at the end of a text<sup>2</sup>).

##### 2. Eighth cent. BC

Lachish (Lemaire, Tel Aviv 3 [1976], pp. 109-110, pl. 5,2,  
 cf. Aharoni, ibid., p. 110; three possible dividers, but  
 this is not sure owing to the fragmentary state of the text).

##### 3. Eighth-seventh cent. BC

Khirbet el-Qôm (Dever, HUCA 40-41 [1969-1970], pp. 151-  
 169 [see EAEHL, pp. 976-977] = IR 139-141; there is, however,  
 no consistent use. See IR 141, which discontinues the use  
 of dots after the first word in l. 3 and IR 139 which  
 divides a proper name - נתני'הו ).

##### 4. Seventh cent. BC

Shechem (Seal of Mbn; EAEHL, p. 1089); a dot ends the only  
 word on the seal)

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1. See Deir 'Alla, p. 183. Exceptions are as those noted by Millard  
 (see n. 5 on page 161).

2. E.g. KA 2, 4, 18.

Generally there are no division signs to separate words in Akkadian, though some are used in OA texts,<sup>1</sup> and some other signs such as the Glossenkeil or determinatives can indicate word boundaries while performing another function in the text.<sup>2</sup> Spacing is also at times used to indicate the boundary.<sup>3</sup> In alphabetic cuneiform texts, especially Ugaritic, word divisions were marked, usually by a vertical wedge,<sup>4</sup> though this use of the single vertical wedge is not limited solely to this function.<sup>5</sup> Texts in the shorter cuneiform alphabet also can have vertical wedges serving as word dividers (e.g. UF 9, pp. 459-460), although the wedge is larger than those in Ugaritic texts.

Phrase level divisions are not generally indicated in the MT, although spaces in poetry separate strophes which can correspond to phrases.<sup>6</sup> One of the Samarian ostraca (C1101; eighth cent. BC)<sup>7</sup> divides two phrases, or possibly two clauses: נרן שלם (2) נרן divides two phrases, or possibly two clauses: ימנה שערם 111-  
הדעם הקשני (3) (see Figure 1). This has been

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1. See G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 42; Horwitz, Graphemic, p. 17; UF 11 (1979), p. 390, n. 5.

2. See Horowitz, Graphemic, p. 18.

3. E.g. a word ending a line.

4. See Horwitz, UF 5 (1973), p. 165; 6 (1974), pp. 75-80;

5. See idem., Graphemic, p. 18; idem., UF 5, pp. 165-173; UF 11, pp. 393-394.

6. See e.g. the manuscript Bl9<sup>A</sup> (L) which is the basis of BHS, passim. Cf. also spaces between phrases in some Akkadian poetry, e.g. the copies of parts of Ludlul from Sultantepe (BWL, plates 1-2, 8-11).

7. SSI I, p. 14.



FIGURE 1<sup>1</sup>

interpreted as 'Baruch - tell them to pay attention',<sup>2</sup> 'your grain - two (measures)',<sup>3</sup> and 'grain - two handfulls'.<sup>4</sup> The latter two interpretations are possible since the divider might be the sign for 'two' rather than a vertical division marker. This would mean that there is no division marker here.<sup>5</sup> This is more probable since there are no markers in such a position in early Hebrew or in other West Semitic texts.<sup>6</sup> Early Akkadian texts, however, indicated divisions between phrases in some cases.<sup>7</sup>

Sentence, and sometimes clause division, is marked in the MT by the soph passuq (:) and the silluq (,) at the end of a verse, and the athnach (A) within the verse, since the pauses usually occur at clause or sentence boundaries. While these conventions are only evident in late manuscripts from about the tenth cent. AD on, there are

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1. From SSI II, p. 192, 21.

2. So Gibson in SSI I, p. 15.

3. S. Birnbaum in J.A. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste 3: The Objects From Samaria (London, 1957), p. 12.

4. K. Galling, ZDPV 77 (1961), p. 185. For other translations, see pp. 175-181.

5. See SSI I, p. 15.

6. A possible exception in Ugaritic is noted by Goetze (JBL 60 [1941], p. 354), but his interpretation has been challenged by Howritz (UF 9, pp. 127-128).

7. See Millard, JSS 15, p. 13, also Or 50 (1981), pp. 102, 3; 105, 4 (OAss).

at least signs of the beginnings of sentence, or verse divisions in the Dead Sea scrolls. Several of these texts place one verse per line as a method of division (e.g. 2Q18, 2 [Ecc1 6:20-31], first cent. BC, sometimes leaves as much as ten characters worth of space at the end of verses rather than beginning another verse on the same line; 11QPs<sup>a</sup>xvii:15 [Ps 145 between vv. 20-21]; 5Q5 [Ps 119]; 11QPs<sup>a</sup> vi-xiv, first cent. AD, both of these are divided in this manner to preserve the anacrostic nature of the psalm). Other texts occasionally leave spaces between verses (e.g. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> i:15 [Ps 105:44]; xvii:5 [Ps 145:14], 9 [v.16] and passim in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>; 3Q3, 2 [Lam 3:53, 56, 59], each have a preceding space; 2Q13, 9:5 after Jer 48:28). This is particularly common in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> which leaves space at some points corresponding to Masoretic verse divisions if these end the line in the DSS text<sup>1</sup> and also if the division is within a line,<sup>2</sup> even if they do not correspond to some higher level division, e.g. a פֶּרֶשֶׁה or chapter division. Some spaces, however, are left in positions which do not correspond to MT verse divisions. Sometimes space is left to divide the parallel poetic strophes, much as it is in the later codex Leningrad B19<sup>A</sup>.<sup>3</sup> One Ugaritic text similarly marks cola (KTU 1. 24), with the vertical wedge ordinarily used as a word divider (see p.163), though this is not the norm.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the end of a line of text was used to indicate

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1.(Verses marked \* also have marginal symbols; see Chapter III)

5:17; 7:2; 10:15; 13:9, 16; 17:8; 22:11, 19; 23:12; 26:15; 27:8, 13; 28:22; 31:6; 33:6\*, 9, 24; 34:15; 36:21; 37:13, 20; 39:2, 4; 41:11 (space of 2 1/2 lines); 43:2; 44:1, 22; 49:3\*; 41:13, 14; 52:6\*, 15\*; 56:12; 57:2, 13; 58:12; 62:3; 65:16, 18; 66:5\*, 21, 24 - all on the left margin. On both the right and left margins - 10:26\*; 16:12; 32:19\*; 41:1, 12\*, 14; 48:19; 49:7; 53:8\*; 65:10; 66:19.

2. 5:21, 23, 26; 9:1\*; 11:12, 14; 13:8, 18, 22; 14:6, 17, 21; 22:5; 23:14; 24:22; 26:12, 16, 20; 27:5, 9; 28:20; 29:7, 17; 30:22, 24, 25, 29; 32:4, 10; 33:19, 20; 34:8; 36:1, 12, 15, 17; 36:20; 37:14, 20; 38:6; 39:7; 41:6, 24; 42:20; 43:7, 8, 25, 26; 44:8, 11, 12, 17, 27; 45:4, 12, 16, 25; 46:8; 47:4; 48:9; 49:4\*, 24; 50:3, 4, 6, 8, 9; 51:10, 20, 21; 52:1, 8; 53:11; 54:1; 14, 15; 55:7, 9, 11; 58:4, 7, 9, 11; 59:8, 20; 60:9, 18, 21, 22; 61:7; 63:10, 14; 65:9, 15; 66:2, 6, 22.

the end of a cola.<sup>1</sup> Other spaces may not be so well placed since they do not seem to correspond to the syntax of the clause.<sup>2</sup> Sentence level divisions can also be indicated by spaces in extra-biblical texts from Qumran.<sup>3</sup>

In the Moabite Mesha<sup>4</sup> inscription, vertical strokes indicate sentence divisions, although not every sentence has such a stroke at the end.<sup>4</sup> Andersen has argued that the stroke most commonly closes a pair of sentences or a pair of commands, parallel sentences or bicola.<sup>5</sup> Similar vertical strokes divide words in the Moabite el-Kerak inscription.<sup>6</sup> The same stroke occurs between sentences in 1. 3 of this Moabite inscription, but only because the stroke follows every word and not because it serves as a separate sentence divider. Some Akkadian texts also indicate sentence divisions by lines in the text.<sup>7</sup>

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3. See BHS 7, pp. 97-98; see also 24:14; 41:19; 44:2; 46:11; 50:2; 53:6, 10; 55:10; 56:3; 57:13; 58:5; 60:16, 22; 65:5.

4. See S. Segert, 'Ugaritic Poetry and Poetics: Some Preliminary Observations', UF 11 (1979), p. 730.

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1. See Horwitz, UF 11, pp. 392ff and n. 13.

2. E.g. 8:3, - new subject introduced, 13 - between object and resuming pronoun (אִתְּךָ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת), 23 - before a time reference (cf. BHS); 26:8; 27:11 (reason for the spaces unclear).

3. E.g. 2Q19:3; 2Q21:3; 2Q29:2 (?); 6Q9, 22:3; 6Q9, 23:3; 6Q12:2; 6Q27, 3:2 (?); 5Q12:5; Aramaic - 2Q24, 4:14, 16, 17.

4. Dussaud, Monuments, pp. 4-22 and photo.

5. Andersen, Or NS 35 (1966), pp. 85-88, especially p. 88; cf. SSI I, p. 72.

6. BASOR 172 (1963), pp. 3, 6. See Millard, JSS 15, p. 8.

7. E.g. VAT 10071 + 10756 in BWL, pl. 73 (Ludlul); K.3182 in BWL, pl. 33-34 (and passim in copies of the Šamaš hymn; between bicola, which often correspond to sentences); VAT 8807 in BWL, pl. 55-57 (between sayings).

The Punic Marseille and Carthage Tariffs<sup>1</sup> end some sentences with spaces, but these also correspond to dividing points between paragraphs (Marseille - ll. 2, 4, 8, 19; Carthage - ll. 6, 7). Since sentences in other, non-paragraph final positions do not have terminal indicators, the spaces which do occur probably indicate paragraphs rather than sentences.<sup>2</sup> Each paragraph also begins a new line.<sup>3</sup> These paragraphs will be shown to correspond to the paragraph divisions ascertained from a purely literary analysis of the Tariffs in comparison with Lev 1-7 ( pp. 232-236).

Some spaces left in the Dead Sea texts correspond to the MT פֶּרֶשֶׁה markers.<sup>4</sup> Others, while not indicated in the MT by פ/ס markers, still correspond to spaces in, for example, the Codex Leningrad B19<sup>A</sup> used in the BHS,<sup>5</sup> while other spaces in the Dead Sea texts do not even correspond to these.<sup>6</sup> Paragraphs in non-biblical Qumran texts can also have spaces marking paragraph divisions.<sup>7</sup>

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1. CIS I 185 (pl. XXXVII) and 187 (pl. XXXVII) respectively.

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2. See pp. pp. 232 / concerning the sectional divisions in the Tariffs.

3. ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 656.

4. E.g. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> i:11 (Isa 1:9), 21 (1:17), 23 (1:20); ii:6 (1:31) and passim in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, though not all פֶּרֶשֶׁה are so marked, e.g. i:27 (1:23); cf. also 11QtgJob i:3 (17:16); iii:2 (19:29); ix 3 (before 25:1); x:6-7 (26:14) and passim in 11QtgJob wherever there is such a mark in the MT, and elsewhere in the DSS material.

5. E.g. 2Q2, 1:7 (Exod 1:14). Ps 119 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> vii-xi has a blank line between each of the anacrostic strophes - Sanders, DJD iv, p. 14.

6. E.g. 2Q12:5 (Deut 10:10); 3Q3:3 (Lam 1:11); 6Q4, 5:4 (1 Ki 22:30), 5:5 (1 Ki 23:3); 6Q6 i:6 (Song of S 1:4).

7. 1Q14, 8-10:5; 1Q18, 1-2:1 (Jub 35:8); 1Q20 i:2; 1Q22 i:11, ii:5; 1Q28a i:6; 2Q19:3, 21:3, 24, 4:14; 3Q4:5; 6Q8:4 (?); 6Q12:2; 5Q15, 1 i:2, 7; 4Q159, 5:2 (?); 4Q174, 1-2:9, 13, 19; between pesher and verse: 4Q161, 5-6:3; 8-10:10; 4Q163, 4-7 i:9, ii:9, 8-10:9-10, 21:8, 23 ii:14a, 25:4; 4Q165, 5:4; 4Q166 i:13-14, ii:7; 4Q167, 2:4, 4:3, 11-13 i:8 and passim. For further discussion of the פ markers, see C. Perrot, 'Petuhot et Setumot: Étude sur les alinéas de Pentateuque',

Paragraphs, or at least text sections which deal with different matters, are commonly divided in Ugaritic texts by a line. For example, an economic text (RS 1957.701) discusses prices in Ashdod (ll. 1-2) and in Ugarit (ll. 3-6) with the two sections separated by a line.<sup>1</sup> Other Ugaritic texts have divisions in corresponding places,<sup>2</sup> as do many in Akkadian<sup>3</sup> and some Aramaic texts.<sup>4</sup>

In some cases divisions larger than paragraphs are marked. In the MT, chapters are not indicated apart from the א/ב indicators.<sup>5</sup> Yadin reports that chapter division is also indicated by a space in

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RB 76 (1969), pp. 50-71 and J.M. Oesch, Petucha und Setuma (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1970). The latter was unavailable to me.

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1. Fisher, Claremont, pl. VII. The line on the reverse of the tablet does not correspond to a paragraph division, but the two sides are apparently the work of two different scribes, so a lack of consistency should not be surprising.

2. E.g. RS 1957.3 in Fisher, Claremont, p. 29:3; KTU 4.40; 4:63; 4:69 iii, v, vi and passim. For a discussion of the importance of lines and especially their use indicating scribal initiative, see Horwitz, UF 11, pp. 391-393.

3. E.g. LH, between laws; K.9290 + 9297 in BWL, pll. 21-22, and passim in other copies of the Theodicy, between sections by different speakers; VAT 9933 in BWL, pl. 37 and passim in other copies of the Dialogue of Pessimism, as last text; VAT 10102 in BWL, pll. 41-42 and passim in other copies of the contest between the Tamorisk and the Palm; AT 359; 365 (between heading and the body), so EA 366, 367, and 370.

4. E.g. AP 22 i:20 (cf. AP, p. 74).

5. The chapter divisions are credited to an Archbishop of Canterbury in the early thirteenth century AD, Stephen Langton. These were apparently added to the MT only in the next century by Rabbi Solomon b. Ismael (c. AD 1330); so Ginsburg, Introduction, p. 25.

fragments of Lev 8-12 found at Masada, deposited during the first century AD.<sup>1</sup> Divisions into chapters do not necessarily correspond to any levels of discourse which were noted above (p. 157), although they could correspond to an episode or a story. In the Dead Sea material, some larger sections, e.g. individual psalms, are separated by spaces of one line<sup>2</sup> or parts of a line.<sup>3</sup>

Hoftijzer has argued that the red ink used in six places in the plaster text from Deir 'Alla (Combination I:1, 2-3; II:17; iii a-g; iv a; possibly viii/<sup>d</sup>) introduces a new or important aspect in a story.<sup>4</sup> It does not indicate the start of a paragraph because there are paragraphs which are not marked with this ink (e.g. I:5,8; II:17(?) ). He also suggests that a blank space left on one of the surviving fragments could indicate the end of a story.<sup>5</sup> Since the red ink marks the beginning of a story, the blank must serve a different function, which he sees as best filled by an indicator that a story is finished. This is a possibility, but the text itself is too fragmentary to confirm or deny this interpretation, or even to provide a sure understanding of the use of the red ink.

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1. EAEHL, p. 813.

2. E.g. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xiv (between Pss 119 and 135), xvi (118 and 145), xxviii (134 and 151A); Sanders, DJD IV, p. 14.

3. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> fragC ii:11 (between Pss 102 and 103); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> ii:5 (146 and 148), iii:7 (121 and 122), 14 (122 and 123), xvii (151 A and B) and passim in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

4. Hoftijzer, Deir 'Alla, pp. 184, 269; cf. pp. 186, 244.

5. Combination V, fragment q (ibid., pl. 33); see p. 269.

## B. INTERNAL DIVISION MARKERS<sup>1</sup>

Since the only extant copies of the Hebrew Bible are separated from the original manuscripts by at least two and possibly thirteen centuries,<sup>2</sup> we cannot be sure what external division markers were used in the autographs. It would be expected, however, that the markers would correspond to some extent to those already discussed from contemporary texts. Since the external, graphical, markers cannot be objectively determined, this portion of the thesis will investigate the existence of internal division markers which indicate different thought units. This investigation will start from the Hebrew text, but then will compare some relevant Ancient Near Eastern material to see if these divisions proposed for the original text on the basis of a study of later copies do correspond to divisions found in actual autograph texts. It will be seen if these internal divisions correspond to those indicated graphically in other texts.

Within the body of a text there are indications of internal divisions, especially on the higher discourse levels such as paragraph, story or episode. While these division markers fall into a limited number of categories, individual examples are extremely numerous.

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1. A form of the first section, concerning Genesis, appears under the title 'Diversity and Unity in the Literary Structure of Genesis', Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives, edd. D.J. Wiseman and A.R. Millard (Leicester, 1980), pp. 189-205. A summary of part of the second section on Leviticus 1-7 has appeared as 'Division Markers and the Structure of Leviticus 1-7' in Studia Biblica 1978, ed. A.E. Livingstone (Sheffield, 1979), pp. 9-15.

2. The shorter span is if one accepts the critical dating of the OT books compared with the DSS, while the longer span is if one accepts the traditional ascription of the Pentateuch to Moses.

These indicators will be better understood in their context than presented in a list. Therefore, the method followed here will be that of an analysis of three passages as case studies. These will be from the different genres of narrative (Genesis), ritual (Lev 1-7) and prophecy (Amos). Illustration with further examples of some phenomena or of their different usages or functions will be drawn from other members of the same genre both in Hebrew and in other, cognate literatures.

This study will deal with the text as it appears at one period in time, namely the Hebrew MT. This approach is a necessary preliminary to a study of the history of the text, which some scholars believe is itself derived from sources. We must analyse that which is objectively determinable (the present MT) before we can study that which is subjectively proposed (the source documents). The existence of these source documents is at times proposed on the grounds of the structure of the text, governed often by the use of the division markers. To avoid circular argumentation, we shall study the overt form and function of these markers before making suggestions concerning their implications.

Scholars have already noted the importance of the study of the divisions of the text in OT studies. Muilenburg, in his 1968 Society of Biblical Literature presidential address, took up Eissfeldt's call to study the interrelationships between text sections rather than simply to multiply these sections by repeatedly dividing the text.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. Muilenburg, 'Form Criticism and Beyond', JBL 82 (1969), pp. 1-18; cf. O. Eissfeldt, 'Die kleinste literarische Einheit in den Erzählungsbüchern des Alten Testaments', Kleine Schriften I (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1962), p. 49.



We must study the text as a literary unit to see where it is divided into smaller sections (which Kessler calls the 'macro-structure') as well as the devices used to mark the divisions and indicate the unity (which he calls the 'micro-structure').<sup>1</sup> Each passage must be seen in its objective Sitz im Text before it can be studied in its often more vague and subjective Sitz im Leben.<sup>2</sup>

Muilenburg and others who espouse this approach do not deny that we should value the study of smaller literary sections in addition to a study of the larger units of which they are a part. One of the problems in this analysis of smaller sections of the text, however, and one which form critics also recognise, is how to determine where a literary unit begins and ends. To determine this, Muilenburg says, is the first concern in rhetorical criticism.<sup>3</sup>

Tucker noted that the study of the structure of literary units is valid not only in reference to '"original" units of oral expression'.<sup>4</sup> A 'unit' can mean anything from the entire text down to a single word. These text units do not necessarily correspond to source-critical divisions and attributions, although the latter can enter into the study at a later stage, when they can be compared with

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1. M. Kessler, 'A Methodological Setting for Rhetorical Criticism', Semitics 4 (1974), pp. 22-36.

2. Ibid.

3. JBL 88, pp. 8-9; cf. also Tucker, Int. 32 (1978), pp. 32-33, and Schicklberger, 'Biblische Literarkritik und linguistische Texttheorie', TZ 34 (1978), pp. 65-81. The designation 'rhetorical criticism' is to be preferred to 'structural analysis', since the latter can lead to confusion with the entirely different study of 'structuralism'; see Kessler, Semitics 4, p. 32.

4. Tucker, Int. 32, pp. 32-33.

the textual sections determined by form criticism.<sup>1</sup>

We can place indications of textual divisions in three categories: (a) syntactical indications of a discontinuity in such areas as time, subject or venue, (b) structural indications of the framework of the text, including headings, subscripts and summaries as well as repeated literary patterns or formulae, (c) rhetorical devices which point to a self-contained unit distinct from its context. In the following pages we will analyse the three texts mentioned (i.e. Genesis, Leviticus 1-7 and Amos) to determine how these different categories function in different literary genres. We will then make a comparative synthesis of the findings from these text types.

This area of internal division markers brings up a problem concerning the amount of involvement of the scribe in a text's composition as a person distinct from the author.<sup>2</sup> By definition, each author who wrote down his work is a scribe, but not all scribes are authors in this sense since they as a class were mainly concerned with the copying and preservation of texts rather than with their composition (see the Introduction, pp. 9-15.). We show in this research that the scribe does have some flexibility and control over the physical shape of the text as regards its layout (see e.g. Chapter II A). The subject under discussion here also involves the physical layout of the text as well as the literary elements of character and plot development. The

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1. Ibid.

2. See some preliminary thoughts upon the relationship between scribe - author - oral tradition in Mesopotamian texts in A. Westenholz, 'Old Akkadian School Texts: Some Goals of Sargonic Scribal Education', AfO 25 (1974/7), pp. 107-109.

former aspect would be within the purview of scribal responsibility, but the latter elements are more problematic. If the authors themselves wrote the original documents and they were carefully copied, the scribe himself would not have significant input into this part of the literary enterprise. If, however, an author delivered orally the concepts and ideas which he wished to convey to the scribe who then wrote them down, the scribe would have greater liberty to make scribal (or really 'editorial') comments and additions to the material. The latter has been proposed for much of the OT.<sup>1</sup>

The exact amount of scribal input into the final form of the text is, therefore, still a matter of discussion. Since we do know that the scribe was involved in activities revolving around the margins of text sections by marking them in various ways, we feel justified in this work to analyse ways to determine internally where these text margins are, even though there is not objective proof in each instance that a scribe was involved in some way with any one textual boundary.

#### 1. NARRATIVE: GENESIS

Genesis was chosen for this study due to its chiefly narrative character, having no significant overlap into the other two genres to be studied. It was also chosen as a test case due to the wide divergence in proposed dates for its composition, ranging from the classical, Mosaic authorship (c. 1500 BC) to the critical view proposing a post-exilic redaction (c. 400 BC). This analysis will endeavour to see if the criteria provided by division markers favour one composition date over another.

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1. See e.g. Gevaryahu, BetM'למורדים 47 (1971), pp. 430-456, concerning the writings of the prophets.

### a. INDICATIONS OF DISCONTINUITY

That the book of Genesis is a distinct unit is shown by the indications of discontinuity which occur at each end of the text. In the very first verse a temporal discontinuity is indicated by the adverb בראשית 'in the beginning'. At the end of the book there is an implicit change of subject, since Joseph, the protagonist of the preceding chapters (Gen 37-50) is dead.<sup>1</sup> These represent two types of discontinuity which indicate divisions in the text: change of time and change of subject.

#### i. Change of Time

Sometimes a narrative unit is specifically stated to begin or end. When Pharaoh was dreaming in Gen 41, it is recorded after each of his dreams that 'he woke up' (vv. 4,7). The same 'end of dream' sequence is found in the Keret epic (KTU 1.14, 154). Also, when the events foretold by Pharaoh's dreams were happening, the end of one textual unit is marked 'and the seven years of plenty were completed' (v. 53) while the next unit begins 'and the seven years of famine started' (v. 54).<sup>2</sup> Other narrative portions outside of Genesis also have divisions within the narrative marked in this way. For example, a major break in the social order in Israel took place by the death of Samuel as the last of the judges. In the OT text there are two notices of his death (1 Sam 25:1; 28:3). The events in the contexts of the two passages are separated by some span of time so in only one instance

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1. Gen 50:26 - 'And Joseph died at one hundred and twenty years of age. They embalmed him and put him in a casket in Egypt.'

2. These two verses, while indicating temporal discontinuity showing a boundary between sections, are united by their literary form (verb + seven years + subject clause) as well as by a word play on the verbs (תחלינה/תחלינה) which are differentiated only by the distinction כ-ח which is more graphic than phonetic. For other examples of an action being said to begin or end see Gen 17:22; 6:1; 9:20, 24; 20:8;

would the notice of Samuel's death be in the correct chronological order. This was probably the first notice<sup>1</sup> with the other reference being an example of 'dischronologized narrative'<sup>2</sup> reminding the reader of background information before carrying on the narrative. As literary devices, both serve to indicate a break in the flow of the story, the first as a small note between episodes marked by terminal (24:23) and initial (25:1b) venue changes and the latter preceding an episode marked by a change of subject (28:4). Additional narrative sections are also marked by a notice of death<sup>3</sup> while different indicators of termination are also used.<sup>4</sup>

Within the same semantic range as the verb  $\text{קץ}$  is the verb  $\text{שכח}$  'to awake' which also shows the passage of a night.<sup>5</sup> As Irvin notes,

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23:16, 18; 22:3; cf. Gen 21:15; 24:15, 22; 27:30 in which a new section is headed by a note regarding the termination of something related to the previous section.

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1. So e.g. Keil and Delitzsch, Samuel, p. 238; K. McCarter, I Samuel (Garden City, 1980), p. 380.

2. See W.J. Martin, "'Dischronologized' Narrative in the Old Testament', VT Supp (1968), pp. 179-186; cf. D.W. Baker, The Consecutive Non-Perfective as Pluperfect in the Historical Books of the Hebrew Old Testament (Genesis-Kings) (Vancouver, 1973).

3. E.g. Exod 2:23 where the death is presented as simultaneous with other events; cf. p. 183, n. 4.

4. E.g. Num 7:1; Josh 4:1; Ezra 9:1.

5. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 1169-1170 sub  $\text{שכח}$  for examples.

the formula **וַיִּשְׁכַּח בְּבֹקֶר** 'is usually used to describe beginning an action .... It is common for beginning a journey'.<sup>1</sup> She also notes that the formula has become stereotyped since it is used on occasion where no evidence of sleeping, or even night, is mentioned.<sup>2</sup> It does, however, indicate that some span of time has elapsed.

There are also a number of other textual divisions which are marked by an explicit time change. This is especially important when stress is laid on the progress of time; for example, in the flood narrative. The start of the flood is marked by a marginal time reference (that is, one on the periphery of the story unit) which gives Noah's age: 'and Noah was six hundred years old' (Gen 7:6). Following the account of the entrance of the animals into the ark, the section is concluded with a wait of seven days (v. 10). Then, the exact date of the flood is given (v. 11), followed by other indications of time which serve to mark divisions in the narrative by marking gaps, or discontinuities, in time (vv. 12, 17, 24; 8:4, 5, 6, 10, 13-14).

Such markers of time change are by no means restricted to the Genesis narratives. Since much OT narrative is a record of the history of Israel, a temporal sequence would be expected, and indeed a search for narrative portions bounded by notations of time is quite fruitful. This is especially so in Kings and Chronicles<sup>3</sup> as in extra-biblical literature of the 'annal' type, e.g. the Babylonian and

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1. Irvin, Mytharion, p. 25. See also Fokkelman, Narrative, p. 65, n. 41.

2. Ibid., where she lists Exod 24:4; Num 14:40; Jdg 21:4; 1 Sam 17:20 and 2 Kings 3:22.

3. E.g. 1 Kings 15:1,9,33; 16:8 and passim. This is not a statement concerning the relative dates of this type of division marker, but is saying only that it is common and does serve, when it occurs, to separate two text sections. Similar time changes separating other narrative passages are, e.g. Exod 40:17; Lev 9:1; Num 1:1; 9:15; 10:11; 20:1; Jdg 15:1; 1 Sam 20:27; 30:1.

Assyrian chronicles in which each section is headed 'mu X' ('the x year of').<sup>1</sup> In some cases, each year's activities are separated from those of another year by a line.<sup>2</sup> The activities are arranged in the order of the months in which they occur.<sup>3</sup>

A similar time notation occurs at the beginning of some biblical books, not necessarily to indicate a passage of time but rather to fix the events of the book on an absolute time scale. This notice is then followed by others which note the passage of time while separating literary units.<sup>4</sup>

Ugaritic also uses a time notice to fix the time in which the events in a passage start (e.g. KTU 1.1 .5.18 'at sunset').

Ugaritic narrative texts also mark the start of some passages with a notice of the passing of time, usually of seven days or years.

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1. ABC, passim.

2. Cf. also ABC, Chronicles 2-7, probably 8, 9-12, 15 and 16. 1:6-8 is a distinct section concerning an action continuing through several years. While it does not start with a specific year number as do the other sections, it does commence with a marginal time-reference ('at the time of Nabû-nâsir'). The line was omitted between iii:18-19 in BM 92502 but is included in BM 75975; see ABC, p. 80.

3. As noted by Grayson, ABC, p. 84 (commentary on iv:19-22) the order of months in iv:19-22 seems to be confused, Shubria being sacked in Tebet (month 10), its booty taken to Uruk in Kislev (month 9) and the king's wife dying in Adar (month 12). This could possibly be due to the time at which Esarhaddon became king. He had been crown-prince from Nisan (month 1), 681 BC and his father, Sennachrib, was murdered in Tebet (month 10; cf. RLA I, p. 201), 681 BC. Although he did not gain actual control of the throne until Adar (month 12), 680 BC, he could have counted his kingship from the month his father died, which would place Tebet before Kislev in the first full year of his reign. Cf. also ABC Chronicle 17 ii:12-14 and iii:10-11 and the notes on them for other dischronological accounts. The former might be explained as was the example just noted, but the latter specifically mentions year 19 before year 16.

4. E.g. Dan 1:1; 2:1; 8:1; 9:1; 10:1; Ezra 1:1; 3:1, 8; Neh 1:1; 7:29b; 8:13; 9:1.

A number of these start the temporal notice with the particle mk.<sup>1</sup> Some also use the syntactically similar particle hn,<sup>2</sup> both meaning 'lo, behold'.<sup>3</sup> The verb 'tq is also used to show the same advance.<sup>4</sup> At times these divisions are also externally marked by starting a new line, although this is not the rule.

Extra-biblical Hebrew narrative texts are rare, so examples of sections marked by time changes are few. On a very simple level is the Gezer Calendar (tenth cent. BC) which, by its nature, is divided by time into separate clauses which are also externally marked by either terminating at the end of a line (ll. 2-6), or are followed by a horizontal stroke (ll. 1, 2), or both (l. 7).

Imperial Aramaic narrative texts are also rare but later texts show similar divisions by change of time. For example, the Genesis Apocryphon frequently has an adverb or other indicator of relative time separating two literary sections, sometimes also accompanied by a blank space as an external division marker.<sup>5</sup>

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1. E.g. - seven days: KTU 1.17.1.15, 2.39; 1.4.6.31; 1.22.1.25; - seven years: 1.6.5.8 (for the restoration, see KTU, p. 27, note); 1.14.3.3, 5.6; 1.15.3.22; 1.19.4.17 (noted in error as line 179 in Whitaker, Concordance, p. 418).
2. E.g. KTU 1.17.1.5, 2.32.5.3, all referring to the passage of days, in the last case seven.
3. See UT, para. 12.7.
4. E.g. KTU 1.6.2.4-5, 26; 1.1.5.15-16, 23 (restored), of passing days.
5. E.g. כדִּי - 2:12 (space before), 21 (space); 20:8, 24 (space); cf. 5Q15:2 (כדִּין; space) אֲדִין - 2:19 (space); 20:21 (space); 22:18 (space), 20 (space); contemporaneity - 19:17 (space); 20:12 (space) 16; (ול) בָּתָר - 19:23 (space?); 21:5 (space); קִדְמָת יוֹמִיא אֵלֶן - 21:23 (space); 22:27 (space); cf. p. 161.



Andersen noted that ages are often indicated by time references marginal to a story either at the beginning or the end, or else between episodes within a story.<sup>1</sup> An example of this is the division between Gen 16 and 17. In Gen 16:16 Abram is said to be 86 when Hagar bore Ishmael. The next section, in which Abram is renamed and Yahweh institutes the covenant with him, starts out with a statement that Abram was 99 years old (Gen 17:1). The first of these marginal time references is of interest because it is a circumstantial clause with the inversion of the subject and the predicate 'Now Abram was eighty-six years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram' (Gen 16:16).<sup>2</sup> The second, 'Abram was ninety-nine years old', starts a new section concerning Yahweh's covenant with Abram. This is shown by the gap of thirteen years between it and the previous section which concerns the birth of Ishmael. Other such time references which start a new episode are Gen 23:1; 26:34; 24:1,<sup>3</sup> and 27:1 (referring to agedness (ןִיָּז) rather than a specific age);<sup>4</sup> 34:25; 37:2.<sup>5</sup>

This second marginal time reference is of interest because it is introduced by the verbal form וַיְהִי, which Andersen and Gesenius-

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1. Andersen, Sentence, p. 81; see also Irvin, Mytharion, p. 28.
2. See p. 184. For other marginal time references in the form of a circumstantial clause closing an episode, see Andersen, Sentence, p. 81. Cf. a similar form in 1 Sam 13:1.
3. A circumstantial clause; see ibid., p. 80.
4. A relative rather than an absolute reference to a discontinuity in time; cf. also 1 Sam 8:1.
5. Ibid., p. 87.

Kautsch noted as often marking the transition to a new textual unit.<sup>1</sup> This verb frequently signals a discontinuity in circumstances from the preceding section. Most of these reflect a lapse in time, as did the example above in which there was a time gap between Ishmael's birth and the following events.<sup>2</sup> Thus, while 'the imperfect with waw-consecutive serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequence of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately before',<sup>3</sup> וַיְהִי in this form appears to stress the discontinuity rather than the continuity between separated passages.<sup>4</sup> Again it is important to consider each case in its context, since the verb וַיְהִי can have other uses as well as that of indicating a temporal discontinuity.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the absolute time indicators which separate text sections, there are also relative time markers which bind sections, as well as marking their boundary.<sup>6</sup> These include such adverbial phrases as 'after (this)' (אחרי כן),<sup>7</sup> 'again' (שׁוּבָה),<sup>8</sup> and 'also' (גַּם),<sup>9</sup>

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1. Ibid., p. 63; GK, para. 111 f; see also Schicklberger, TZ 34, p. 70.

2. Andersen, Sentence, p. 63. See also Ogden, VT 21 (1971), pp. 451-469, especially p. 462 where he notes that the ׀ plus prefix conjugation of the verb indicate a 'break in thought between the two clauses in question' of a longer or shorter interval. Other examples of discontinuity marked by a form of this verb are common, not only indicating time, but also subject changes, e.g. 1 Sam 1:1.

3. GK, para. 111 a.

4. Coats, Canaan, p. 21 noted that וַיְהִי sometimes does not separate two completely new scenes but serves as a transition between (to use his terms) an exposition (background preparation) and a specific crisis in a new scene. In the previous section there is a sense of preparation for the one following, but there is still a discontinuity in time marked in both cases.

5. Cf. e.g. GK, para. 116 r and Ogden, VT 21, pp. 451-469.

6. See Seeligmann, TZ 18 (1962), pp. 310-311.

as well as verbs, e.g. 'do again'  $\text{אָבִי}$ .<sup>1</sup> These markers also are common in other narrative passages. Most commonly the progress of time is shown by the adverbs  $(\text{י})\text{אָחֵר}$ <sup>2</sup> or  $\text{אַז}$ ,<sup>3</sup> but retrogression also occurs with the adverb  $\text{לפני}$ .<sup>4</sup>

Ugaritic texts also mark relative time by the use of adverbs. ahr, cognate to Hebrew  $\text{אָחֵר}$ , is used at times with a verb, most commonly mgý 'he arrived', which makes this a combined temporal and venue notice,<sup>5</sup> though other actions are also noticed.<sup>6</sup> Another example of the use of this combination with an explicit time notice is in KTU 1.14.4.44ff (and parallels<sup>7</sup>) which reads (44) ylk ym.w in. (45) lil.rb'.ym. (46) ahr.špšm.b rb' (47) ymgy 'He goes one day and a

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7. E.g. Gen 15:1; 22:1, 20; 25:26; 48:1. For other references see Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 35-37 sub  $\text{אָחֵר}$ ; cf. Seeligmann, TZ 18, pp. 10-11. Also Irvin, Mytharion, p. 27, concerning the formulaic nature of this adverbial clause.

8. E.g. Gen 4:25 referring to v. 1; 8:12 to v. 12 to v. 6 and v. 12 to v. 11; 9:11, 15 to 7:21; 29:35 to v. 32; passim in chap. 30; 35:9 to v. 1.

9. Gen 3:22 (taking from the Tree of Life) referring to v. 6; 4:26 (son born to Seth) to vv. 17ff; 10:21 (son born to Shem) to v. 2(?); 27:31 (Esau makes tasty stew) to v. 14; 38 (another blessing for Esau) to v. 27, cf. v. 35; 32:20 (report of Jacob's arrival) to v. 18; 35:17 (another son born to Rachel) to 30:23.

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1. Gen 38:26; Judg 13:21; 1 Sam 15:35; see Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 487-488 for further examples.

2. E.g. Exod 5:1; Josh 1:1; 23:1; Jdg 1:1; 10:1; 12:8, 13; 2 Sam 1:1; 2:1; Ezra 7:1, 7.

3. E.g. Exod 15:1; Josh 8:3; 10:33; 22:1.

4. E.g. 1 Sam 9:15; Neh 13:4; cf. p. 273-274.

5. E.g. KTU 1.2.1.30; 1.4.3.23, 5.44 (preceded by a ruling and reading instructions to the scribe); 1.15.2.11.

6. E.g. KTU 1.24.32 (after a marriage).

7. KTU 1.14.4.31-34; 1.20.2.5-6; 1.22.2.24-25.

second, a third, a fourth day. After the sunrise on the fourth (day) he arrives'. This example involves three indications of time or venue changes, the adverb ahr (l. 46) under discussion, an itinerary formula. (hlk-mgy) discussed below (pp. 195-196) and also a note of the passing of four days. This form of time reference replaces such possible simple statement as 'four days passed'. The feeling of the progress of time rather than just a gap comes through more clearly. A similar device to separate narrative sections is used elsewhere in Ugaritic<sup>1</sup> and Akkadian<sup>2</sup> literature.

Two other Ugaritic adverbs expressing relative time are hlm 'as soon as' and idk 'then'. The former is used exclusively with the verb ph 'to see' in the extant narrative texts.<sup>3</sup> The adverb idk is used exclusively with a venue change (i.e. idk.lytn.pnm 'm 'then he set off to'), which will be discussed later ( p. 198 ).

Yet another form of relative time marker which unites the content of two sections while separating them into two literary units, is a notice of the contemporaneity of two events. Although not used in Genesis, other narrative passages use this device of noting one episode occurring at the time of another.<sup>4</sup>

## ii. Change of Subject

A change in subject matter can be an obvious indicator of a discontinuity in the text.<sup>5</sup> A passage giving the family tree of

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1. E.g. KTU 1.22.2.24; 1.20.2.5; 1.14.4.31-34 and passim (for further examples see Whitaker, Concordance, p. 307 sub ym).

2. E.g. Gilg 11:142-145; cf. Lambert, Atra-hasis II iv9-v5; Gilg 11:215-218. This use is somewhat similar to the lack of events of significance in an annal which nevertheless records the time reference but without comment (e.g. ABC p. 107:9; 181:15-18, r.1).

3. UT, p. 391, 772. E.g. KTU 1.2.1.21; 1.3.3.32; 1.4.4.27; 1.16.1.53.

4. E.g. Exod 2:23 (וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא הָרְבִּים הָהֵם) ; 12:51 (וַיְהִי בַעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה) ; cf. p.197 , n. 1); 1 Sam 28:1 (וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא) ; Neh 13:1 (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) , 23 (גַּם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא).

5 See Richter, Exegese, p. 86; Schicklberger, TZ 34, p. 70.

Noah's sons (Gen 10) is clearly distinct from one concerned with the building of a town (Gen 11:1-9). The same is true of passages in which different personnel are involved. On its mundane level, this change of personnel marks sub-paragraphs such as those within a dialogue.<sup>1</sup> For example, in the discussion between Yahweh, the man and the woman concerning the couple's sin in Gen 3:9-19, different text sections are shown by different grammatical subjects (vv. 9,10,11,12,13 [two], 14) or indirect objects (vv. 14,16,17), which comprise a speech formula such as 'X spoke/commanded (said to) Y'. Examples in narrative and other texts are numerous.

Other larger sections can be marked by the introduction of a new character. Sometimes the normal narrative word order is involved (e.g. Gen 12:7<sup>2</sup> and 16:7). Frequently this involves the use of a circumstantial clause, i.e. one which breaks the ordinary Hebrew narrative prose chain of 1-consecutive plus prefixed verb (or, more rarely, plus suffixed verb). Commonly this is done by inserting the subject, which generally follows the predicate in Hebrew prose, between the 1-consecutive and the verb.<sup>3</sup> Following the account of Yahweh's covenant with Abram in Gen 15, a new person is introduced and a new

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1. OED, VII, p. 453 sub 'paragraph' 2, 'the words of a distinct speaker'. For a discussion of dialogue on more universal levels, see Longacre, Anatomy, pp. 165-196, especially p. 166.

2. Noted as an independent unit by Westermann, Promises, p. 4 and n. 2.

3. Andersen, Sentence, pp. 77-78; cf. also Andersen, Verbless Clause, p. 35 and S.R. Driver, Treatise, p. 201. See Longacre, Anatomy, pp. 143-145.

section started by the circumstantial clause 'Now Sarai, Abram's wife, had not given birth for him' (15:1).<sup>1</sup> A circumstantial clause is not the only indication of subject change, however, since a new subject, or at least the resumption of a subject which has been already introduced, can follow a  $\mathfrak{v}$ -consecutive verb, according to the ordinary Hebrew narrative sentence structure of  $\mathfrak{v}$ -consecutive verb plus subject (e.g. Gen 4:24; 11:1; 12:1,4 as well as in other narrative passages, e.g. Exod 1:8; 2:1; 1 Sam 1:1; 9:1; 26:1; 29:1; 1QapGen 21:8; 6Q4, 15:1,5).

Andersen noted that circumstantial clauses can occur at the end of an episode, although it is at times difficult to determine whether the clause is at the beginning or the end.<sup>2</sup> Termination can be made clear by the introduction of a new subject in the following verse, thus starting a new section. For example, following a dialogue between Yahweh and Abraham in Gen 18 it is stated that 'Yahweh went away when he had finished speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place' (v. 33). The last clause is circumstantial in form and closes a section, since the following verse introduces new subjects, i.e. 'now two angels came to Sodom' (19:1).

Change of subject marks divisions elsewhere in the Old Testament as well as in other Semitic literatures. This is especially common in historiographic texts such as annals. Examples are abundant in the histories of the Israelite kings (E.g. 1 Ki 1:1; 5:26; 10:1;

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1. See Andersen, Sentence, p. 87; also pp. 79-80 for further examples. Cf. also Exod 3:1; Num 32:1; 1 Sam 5:1; 1Qap Gen 19:14; 2Q24, 4:14,17.

2. Ibid., pp. 80-82 where examples are given.

11:26 and passim) as they are in those of Mesopotamian kings.<sup>1</sup> Some of these texts also include indications of a time change in conjunction with that of personnel.<sup>2</sup> In Ugaritic narrative texts, the particle ap 'also' often introduces a new subject,<sup>3</sup> though some are also introduced in a circumstantial clause,<sup>4</sup> and at times are found in conjunction with a venue change<sup>5</sup> (see p. 198).

### iii. Change of Time and Subject: Genealogical Lists

Genealogical lists combine aspects of discontinuities in time and in subject. While they occur in Genesis (e.g. Gen 5, 10 and passim), they are by no means restricted to that book. Recently Wilson published a detailed study of the form and function of genealogies in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>6</sup> He has compared these with contemporary oral genealogical lists among African tribes, and with other ancient Near Eastern genealogical material. His rather general conclusion is that 'genealogies seem to have been created and preserved for domestic, politico-jural, and religious purposes'.<sup>7</sup> However, the function of

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1. Cf. e.g. ABC No. 14 [cf. p. 30], 18, 20-22 [cf. p. 56]; AKA, p. 41:36; 47:89; 56:73; 57:88; 70:22 [Tiglat-pileser I: 1114-1076 BC] and other royal inscriptions).

2. E.g. ABC, Chronicles 23, 24. These two are both eclectic (see ibid., p. 60) and, although they start each section by a marginal time reference, could have only one per reign so that subject and time changes are the same.

3. E.g. KTU 1.4.1.19; 1.5.6.25; 1.16.1.9, 2.48, 6.25; 1.19.1.19 and passim; cf. also the particle starting some economic texts, e.g. KTU 2.17.2; 4.365.1; 4.380.1.

4. E.g. KTU 1.2.4.11, 18, 28 ; 1.4.6.36.

5. E.g. KTU 1.4.1.23 (circumstantial); 1.2.1.19; 1.24.16.

6. Wilson, Genealogy. See pp. 207-215 for a detailed bibliography.

7. Ibid., p. 199.

genealogies in the literary structure of the text in which they occur is mentioned only rarely, and requires further study.

An abbreviated form of genealogical data, 'A son of B (son of Y)', is commonly used in the Old Testament as a type of epithet. This was used to identify an individual more precisely. The 'epithet' form does not usually serve as a structure division marker within the Hebrew text, except incidentally, when the person identified by it is encountered for the first time. In some Akkadian texts, however, particularly Assyrian royal annals, this 'epithet' form of genealogy is found in a significant position in the body of a text. For example, in an annal of Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BC), the king is introduced by name and epithets, but without genealogical data (KAH I 13 i:1-22a). The text thereafter describes various military campaigns (i:22b-iii:26). Before outlining his various building activities (iii:31ff) the king is again identified, this time with fewer epithets than used previously, but including a genealogy of three generations (iii:27-31). Grayson interprets this as a 'clumsy form' which arises where 'Shalmaneser's scribes are experimenting with the traditional form of royal inscriptions ... in an attempt to include more military matter but in this instance the result is not a success'.<sup>1</sup> He describes this 'traditional form' as consisting of 'subject', in which the king is identified by names and epithets, 'predicate', in which the temple and its building are recorded, and 'concluding formulae', including a request for the help of the gods

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1. ARI I, p. 80.



and future rulers and a curse on those who tamper with the inscription.<sup>1</sup> For Grayson, the genealogy in its present position is only the result of the addition of the military material in the wrong place, separating the genealogy from the rest of the 'subject'.<sup>2</sup> Grayson also points out two other examples of this separation of two parts of the 'subject' in inscriptions of Adad-nērari I<sup>3</sup> (1307-1275 BC) and one of Tukulti-Ninurta I<sup>4</sup> (1244-1208 BC). There are also two other of Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions, not noted by Grayson, in which part of the 'subject' section has been misplaced.<sup>5</sup> In three of the four cases it is epithets rather than the genealogy which is separated from the body of the 'subject' section.<sup>6</sup>

Neither Grayson nor Borger noted that in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I<sup>7</sup> (1114-1076 BC) and Ashurnasīrpal II<sup>8</sup> (883-859 BC)

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.; cf. Borger, Einleitung, pp. 57-58.

3. BM 115687 (cf. ARI I, pp. 59-61 for bibliography and translation). The separated 'subject' section proposed by Grayson (ibid., p. 80) is not apparent.

4. Weidner, Tn., No. 1, 2; cf. ARI I, pp. 101-105, 105-106 for bibliography and translation. Note para. 695, 702 for the 'misplaced' epithet.

5. Weidner, Tn., No. 16 and 20; cf. ARI I, pp. 117-120 and 123-124 for bibliography and translation. Note para. 776 and 798 (end) for the 'misplaced' epithet.

6. The exception~~is~~ Weidner, Tn., No. 20.

7. AKA, pp. 27-108 and other copies. For bibliography and comments, see ARI II, pp. 4-5.

8. AKA, pp. 254-387 and copies; see ARI II, pp. 117-118.

and on a cylinder of Cyrus<sup>1</sup> (557-529 BC) the genealogical data of the king is separated from the main section of his epithets. The Tiglath-pileser inscription, after invoking the gods and introducing the king by name and epithets (i:1-61) gives a full chronological report of military campaigns (i:62-vi:54) followed by a hunting account (vi:55-84). It then noted that he rebuilt, replanted and equipped the country (vi:85-vii:35). All this is followed by a genealogy of five generations.<sup>2</sup> There is then recorded a detailed, specific account of rebuilding the temples of An and Adad (vii:60-viii:49). As Grayson noted, each military campaign is set off in a separate paragraph marked by a horizontal line.<sup>3</sup> Each new campaign is introduced by separate paragraphs containing the royal name and epithets distinctive of that particular paragraph. An example of this use of division markers not noted by Grayson is the start of the hunting passage which reads 'Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, valiant man, holder of the unrivaled bow, controller of the hunt' (vi:55-57). The epithets of Tiglath-pileser in the genealogical passage do not, however, reflect the building activities of the following section, but rather his zeal in pursuing and subduing all those opposed to the god Aššur, the first-mentioned of the gods invoked at the head of

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1. VR 35. For bibliography see HKL I, p. 625 (sub KA, 2ff. a) and HKL II, p. 320 (sub KA, 2ff. a).

2. (vii 36) Tukulti-apil-ešarra ... (42) a Aššur-rēš-iši ... (45) a.a Mutakkil-Nusku ... (49) dumu.uš Aššur-dan ... (55) liblibbi Ninurta-apil-Ekur.

3. ARI II, p. 3, n. 17; cf. p. 167.

the inscription (i:1) and the god who commissioned these military exploits (i:46-61). Rather than heading a new paragraph, as do other occurrences of the royal name and epithets noted above, this genealogical section appears to form the conclusion of the first part of the text, separating it from what follows. This separation is further marked by the marginal time-reference 'at that time' ina ūmišuma (vii:60) which heads the next section.<sup>1</sup> The scribe also indicated this division by leaving blank a space of several lines between ll. 59-60.<sup>2</sup> This time referent and the extra-textual markers, as well as the use of the epithets, indicate that the genealogy is deliberately placed in its present position to separate the text into two text sections.

Ashurnasirpal's long inscription (389 lines) is recorded as a single unit on the walls of the Ninurta temple at Kalḫu (Nimrud). It is in effect a collection of various inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> At the head of the whole inscription stands the dedication to Ninurta (i:1-17). The king is identified with epithets and genealogical data going back three generations (i:18-30).<sup>4</sup> The same genealogy, lacking the last generation of Aššur-dan, is given in association with other epithets in two places in the same text (ii:125-126; iii:113-114). The

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1. See pp. 177-178 concerning marginal time references serving as division markers.

2. See AKA, p. 94, n. 6.

3. See ARI II, pp. 117-118. Cf. also Schramm, Einleitung II, pp. 22-29 for the parallel texts.

4. (i 18) Aššur-nāšir-apli ... (i 28) dumu (or a) Tukulti-Ninurta ... (i 29) dumu dumu Adad-nērari ... (i 30) liblibbi Aššur-dan.

genealogies mark distinctive major text divisions in both instances. This may be due to their original position at the head of separate inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The scribe did have some control over the material since several of the shorter inscriptions which parallel parts of this larger work (i:57ff; ii:86ff) also commence with the same shortened genealogy.<sup>2</sup> These appear to have been either deleted by the scribe who compiled the Ninurta temple inscription, or to have been added to the shorter texts when they stood alone.

In the cylinder of Cyrus the first text section records in the third person the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and explains how this conquest fulfilled divine will (1-19). Then, in the first person, Cyrus identifies himself by epithet titles and a genealogy stretching four generations,<sup>3</sup> before relating his assumption of the rule of Babylon. While this inscription does not exactly parallel the previous two in form, since there is no identification of the king in those opening lines of the text which are still extant (the first line is missing) it is interesting to note the reappearance of the genealogy as a deliberate indication by the scribe of a division between two sections which are distinct as to morphology and content. This reappearance could, however, be due to Elamite rather than Mesopotamian tradition and practice.

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1. See ARI II, p. 117.

2. Layard, Inscriptions, pp. 48ff (parallels ii:86-101 in the annal) has the same genealogy minus Aššur-dan; cf. also BM 90830, an unpublished text paralleling i:57-103 as noted by Schramm in Einleitung II, p. 19, which also starts with a genealogy.

3. (20) Kuraš ... (21) Kambuzia ... Kuraš ... Šišpiš.

There are also cases where an identification of the king by epithets without a genealogy is separated from the main subject section.<sup>1</sup> There can be a reintroduction of the king who is contrasted to someone else. For example, Adad-nērari I (1307-1275 BC) described the history of a building during the reign of his predecessors, who are identified by epithets.<sup>2</sup> He records 'I, Adad-nērari ... (epithets) reconstructed ... that temple'. These occurrences do not play a significant literary function in the history of the building. Also, Sargon II (721-705 BC) is reintroduced in opposition to his specifically identified military foes.<sup>3</sup>

In several inscriptions including some already mentioned, the separated 'subject' occurs in the same context and with the same function as the subject genealogies already noted. For example, in inscriptions of Ashurnāṣirpal II<sup>4</sup> the king's military campaigns and his building accomplishments are separated by this 'subject' resumption in such a way as to suggest that the dividing function of the 'subject' is used deliberately to separate the two text portions.

These texts of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashurnāṣirpal II, Sargon II and Cyrus should indicate that genealogies and epithets can at times occur at the juncture between two different text sections which are distinguished by subject matter. This is also the case of the annals

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1. See pp. 187-188.

2. See e.g. Weidner, IAK xx, 10:7-15; xxi 8:6-15; Weidner, Tn., no. 13; AKA, p. 109, vi:89ff parallels p. 22, no. 2:20-21 (Sennacherib, 704-681 BC).

3. TCL 3, pl. vi:112ff and pl. viii:156.

4. See p. 188, n. 8 above. The separated 'subject' is iii:126-131. Other examples are AKA 218:12-14 (see ARI II, pp. 164-167 for bibliography and translation) and ND 1104 (Iraq 14 [1952], p. 40 i:21-22; see ARI II, pp. 172-176 for bibliography and translation).

of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta noted by Grayson.<sup>1</sup> While these could be a 'clumsy experiment' with the traditional inscription format, rather than being a misplacement of the military section of the text so as to interrupt the introductory epithets, they could equally well mark one of the first attempts to indicate the text divisions by the use of a genealogy. This practice was then at times followed in later texts, e.g. those of Tiglath-pileser, Ashurnasirpal, Sargon and possibly reintroduced by Cyrus.

A genealogy marking the end of a text section is sometimes used to relate the main figure of the preceding narrative to some other known personage. For example, the genealogy in Ruth 4:18-22 links Boaz to the proverbial Perez in the past (cf. 4:12; Gen 38:29) and to David in the future. While representing a change of subject, a continuity with the past is also indicated. Thus the genealogy serves to emphasize both discontinuity and continuity.

Genealogies also link narratives concerning two different time periods. For example, Noah is introduced by a genealogical link to Adam through Seth in Gen 5:3-32, while in Gen 11:10-28 Noah and his sons are linked through Shem to Abram and Lot. This use of a genealogy unites two groups of traditions in which a relationship is not internally clear. The basis of these genealogies is not natural descent alone, since other criteria must be used to determine the line which was to be pursued. As Williamson noted concerning the early genealogies in Chronicles, which he acknowledged as being taken from

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1. See pp. 187-188.

Genesis, the line followed in these genealogies is that of the elect, that is, it leads to the founding of the people of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

Genealogies are not necessarily restricted to the main line of biblical history, and may concern secondary lines which are not pursued beyond the end of the genealogy. Adam's line through Cain is given in detail in Gen 4:1-24 and subsequently abandoned, while the line of Seth is simply introduced by a two generation genealogy in this chapter (vv. 25-26). It is then taken up and continued for ten generations in 5:3-23, as noted above. Also, Gen 10 takes up the lines of Noah's sons, Japheth, Ham and Shem. The order appears to be a result of listing the most important line last, with the least important, and youngest, first.<sup>2</sup> The lineage of Shem is then resumed, again for ten generations, in Gen 11:10ff. Other secondary genealogies include those of the lines of Ishmael (Gen 25:12-18), Esau (Gen 36:2-5, 9-14) and Abraham's descendants through Keturah (Gen 25:1-4).<sup>3</sup> All of these are between major text sections, except the last, which separates two episodes. In each case the genealogies mark divisions.

#### iv. Change of Venue

Another discontinuity which indicates a division between sections in a narrative text is a change in the location or venue of

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1. Williamson, Israel, pp. 62-63; cf. also Johnson, Purpose, p. 73.

2. Cf. Williamson, Israel, p. 63; A. Guillaume, 'Paranomasia in the Old Testament', JSS 9 (1964), p. 283, n. 2.

3. Cf. also Gen 36:15-19, 20-28, 29-30, 40-44 for other examples; Wilson, Genealogy, p. 167.

the events recorded.

Coats noted a formula which serves as a transition marker between two units.<sup>1</sup> From the examples which he gives, this could be called a 'settling formula', and it involves the subject taking up residence (יָשַׁב) at a given location. In some cases this transitional formula has no clear relationship with either the preceding or the following section. Following the genealogy of Esau in Gen 36, 'Jacob settled (וַיֵּשֶׁב) in the land of the residence of his fathers, that is in the land of Canaan' (37:1). This only serves as a bridge between the preceding genealogy and the following tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt formula and the Joseph story. Other occurrences of this 'settling-formula' indicate either the beginning or the end of a narrative unit.<sup>2</sup> There are also cases where synonyms of settlement are used with the same function.<sup>3</sup> Such formulae are also used in other narrative passages with the verb יָשַׁב.<sup>4</sup> or other synonyms.<sup>5</sup>

Some passages are bounded by a formula which contains a 'settling-formula' but is more complex. These have been named variously 'departure' or 'itinerary' formulae,<sup>6</sup> and involve a specific

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1. Coats, Canaan, p. 9 cites Gen 4:16; 13:18; 19:30; 20:1; 21:20, 21; 22:19; 26:6, 17; 50:22.

2. Other such transitions are Gen 13:12; 24:62; 25:11b; 29:14 (with a time reference); 47:27.

3. גַּר - Gen 21:34; נָטַע - 21:33; cf. שָׁכַן/נָפַל - 25:18.

4. E.g. Num 20:1; 25:1; Neh 11:1; 1QapGen 19:10 (ends a passage).

5. E.g. Exod 17:8; 1 Sam 30:1 (בָּא); Num 22:1; Jdg 7:1 (חָנָה); 1 Sam 29:1 (קָבַץ).

6. Seeligmann, TZ 18, pp. 307-310; see Wilcoxon, 'Narrative', p. 91 and Coats, Rebellion, pp. 47-48 and passim; cf. Westermann, Genesis 12-50, pp. 49-51.



discontinuity in location as well as a settling down. These passages mention the departure from one place and the arrival at another.

One of the more complex examples of this extended formula is Gen 11:31 which makes a transition between the pre-history of Gen 1-11 and the following patriarchal history when it records that 'Terah took Abram ... and Lot ... and they set out (וַיֵּצְאוּ) from the Chaldaen Ur to go (לֵלְכָה) to the land of Canaan. They came (וַיָּבֹאוּ) as far as Haran and they settled (וַיֵּשְׁבוּ) there'. This is a complete itinerary from departure to settlement.<sup>1</sup> Other such formulae in Genesis are shorter,<sup>2</sup> and some of them use verbs other than יָשַׁב to express the settlement aspect.<sup>3</sup> Some of these formulae do not contain the 'settlement' clause, containing only an indication of departure and arrival<sup>4</sup> or only one of these elements.<sup>5</sup> At times there is only a verb which indicates that travel is taking place.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See Westermann, Genesis 12-50, p. 159.

2. E.g. 12:8 (see Westermann, Promises, p. 4, n. 2); 36:8; 38:11; 50:7-10 (נָסַע/נָסַע).

3. E.g. 31:25 (נָסַע/נָסַע); 33:18 (חָנָה/בָּא); 35:21 (נָסַע/נָסַע); 38:1 (יָרַד/נָסַע).

4. Gen 8:11; 22:8-9 (see vv. 3, 6); 28:10-11; 35:5-6; 43:15; 44:13-14; 45:24-25; 46:1, 5; 50:7-10; cf. 37:14; 46:28. See Seeligmann TZ 18, p. 307.

5. Only departure - Gen 8:18-19; 14:8, 17; 34:1, 6; 37:12; 41:45, 46; 47:10; only arrival - Gen 7:7, 13; 14:5, 13; 19:1, 23; 26:32; 27:30; 33:18; 34:20; 35:27; 37:23; 41:57; 42:5, 29; 44:14; 47:1.

6. נָסַע - Gen 12:9; 33:17; 35:16; הָלַךְ - Gen 13:3; 14:11, 12; 18:16; 21:14; 24:10, 61; 26:1, 31; 28:5, 7; 29:1; 31:55-32:1; 42:26; יָרַד - Gen 11:5; 12:10; 39:1; עָלָה - Gen 13:1; 17:22; 26:23; 35:13; שָׁב - Gen 33:16.

Venue change as a mark of textual division in narrative texts is by no means limited to Genesis but is common to other Old Testament narrative texts as well.<sup>1</sup> Childs has gone as far as to say that geographical indicators could be the decisive structural element in Numbers.<sup>2</sup> Also there occur simple notices of venue (cf. the notices of time, p.178 above) which, though not necessarily indicating a venue change, still mark a textual division.<sup>3</sup> A form of venue shift also indicates divisions in other literatures. For example, in the Sumerian King List the material is divided according to the different locations in which kingship resided.<sup>4</sup> The same form of change of dynasty is also used in the neo-Assyrian Dynastic Chronicle, at least in some parts of the text.<sup>5</sup> In other cases, such as royal inscriptions concerning military campaigns, divisions (some of which are marked by extra-textual indicators) also have a change of venue to mark a discontinuity.<sup>6</sup>

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1. For 'itinerary' formulae, see e.g. Exod 19:1-2; 4:18; 12:37; 16:1; 17:1; Num 10:11; 20:22; Josh 3:1; 10:31; Jdg 29:1; 1 Sam 11:1; 20:1; 21:1; 22:1; 24:1; Ruth 1:1; 2 Chr 8:3; 6Q4, 15:5. For simple 'departure' notices, see e.g. Exod 12:51 (cf. p. 173, n. 4 above); Num 21:4; 24:25; Deut 2:1, 8; 3:1; 34:1; Josh 10:33; Jdg 2:1; 9:1; 14:1; 16:1; 1 Sam 2:11; Ezra 7:7; 1QapGen 19:14; 20:33. Murray has recently published a study in which he uses changes of venue to good advantage in showing the literary structure of Jdg 4 (VT [1980], pp. 155-189, especially 156-159). In a recent study of 1 Sam 17 ('The Story of David and Goliath: A Folk Epic', Bibl. 60 [1979], pp. 36-76), H. Jason notes that 'the story can be divided into episodes .... The movement of the characters within the spatial realm of the story, together with the changes in the stage of action, divide the story into episodes; motions in space and change in stage of action limit the episode' (p. 56).

2. Introduction, p. 195.

3. E.g. Num 36:13; Deut 1:1.

4. T. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (Chicago, 1939).

5. ABC, p. 140:4, 7, 10; cf. also col. v in which divisions were made according to the different locales from which the rulers came, i.e. 8-bala kur.a.ab.ba; 12-bala é-Ibazi; 15-bala [ela]mki; see p. 197.

6. E.g. AKA, p. 49:7-8; 52:35-39; 59-60:7-9; 75:67 (Tiglath-pileser I) and passim in other royal inscriptions.

Ugaritic texts also have numerous venue changes which are indicative of textual divisions. One portion of the Danel text involves his travelling to three different locations, and his arrival at each is noted preceding a description of events in each locale (KTU 1.19.3.50, 4.1,8 using the verb mgy). The last citation also includes a note of his entry into his palace (ll. 9-10) which is also noted in conjunction with arrival in KTU 1.17.2.24. The notice of relative time along with an announcement of arrival, i.e. ahr mgy has already been noted (p. 182 ). Simple entry ('rb) is also noted.<sup>1</sup>

Other Ugaritic formula note both departure and arrival, and are thus similar to Hebrew itinerary formula. These involve several different verbs of departure and arrival in different combinations, e.g. tb'-bu 'depart-come',<sup>2</sup> tb'-'rb 'depart-enter',<sup>3</sup> hlk-mgy 'go-arrive',<sup>4</sup> gly-bu 'leave-come'.<sup>5</sup> The slightly more lengthy notice of 'setting one's face towards' a place (idk. y/ttn. pnm), arrival and entry (gly-bu) is also a formulaic pattern.<sup>6</sup> At times only the departure part of the itinerary formula is used,<sup>7</sup> in addition to those uses of only an arrival formula already noted.

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1. E.g. KTU 1.16.1.11-12, 2.50.

2. E.g. KTU 1.16.6.2-5: wttb'.š'tqt dt/ bt.krt.bu.tb/bkt.tgly.  
wtbu/nšrt.tb.pnm.

3. E.g. KTU 1.16.6.39-40: ytb'.yšb glm. 'l/abh.y'rb.

4. E.g. KTU 1.14.4.44-47: yłk.ym.wtn./tlt.rb'.ym./ahr.špšm.brb'/  
ymgy, cf. p. 182.

5. See n. 2 above.

6. E.g. KTU 1.1.3.21-23; 1.2.3.[4]-5; 1.3.5.5-9; 1.4.4.20-23; 1.6.1.32-35; 1.17.6.46-49.

7. tb' - KTU 1.17.4.39 (used with a note concerning passing days, cf. p. 174 , 5.31-32; tb'+ idk.ttn.pnm - 1.2.1.13,19; 1.5.1.19,2.13; 1.6.4.6; 1.14.6.35-38; 1.18.45; idk.y/ttn.pnm - 1.4.8.1 and passim, see Whitaker, Concordance, pp. 46-47. The second person verbal forms of the verb are included in direct speech while the third person forms are used in descriptive narrative.

## b. INDICATIONS OF FRAMEWORK

At times the biblical text is divided into distinct sections by its formal literary structure. One method of this which is used in Genesis is panel-writing in which a structured set of component statements is repeated in the same form a number of times.<sup>1</sup> An example is found in Genesis 1 in which the pattern (1) speech clause ('and God said'), (2) command, (3) execution of command, (4) formula of divine approval, (5) ordering formula,<sup>2</sup> is repeated eight times.<sup>3</sup> This panel writing is used to indicate sections in various lists such as genealogies (e.g. Gen 5; 9:28-29; 11:10b-26). It can also be seen to unify narrative passages (e.g. Gen 9:12-17;<sup>4</sup> 15;<sup>5</sup> 17<sup>6</sup>). Due to the fixed progression of elements within the panel, it is possible to determine the start and finish of each. This device is used in other

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1. See McEvenue, Style, pp. 16, 17, 158-169.

2. A marginal time reference indicating a discontinuity between one section and those before and after; cf. pp. 180-181.

3. Cf. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 117; B.W. Anderson, 'A Stylistic Study of the Priestly Creation Story', Canon and Authority, eds. G.W. Coats and B.O. Long (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 151-154; McEvenue, Style, p. 17.

4. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

5. Ibid., p. 155; cf. N. Lohfink, Die Landverheissung als Eid (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 45.

6. McEvenue, Style, pp. 158-159.

narrative texts which have some cyclical form. A clear example of this is the pattern—blessing, turning to foreign gods, oppression, repentance, turning to Yahweh, deliverance, blessing — which characterizes the body of the book of Judges<sup>1</sup> and even the Deuteronomistic history as a whole.

In addition to formulaic structure indicating the boundaries of a textual unit, there are also verbal formulae which can indicate the start or end of a section. One of these is the clause 'these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of X' which occurs eleven times in Genesis.<sup>2</sup> I have argued in Appendix C that the formula is neither solely a heading, starting a new section, nor only a colophon, closing a section. It appears, however, to be ambiguous, at times opening and at times closing a portion of the text. Whichever way the clause refers, it divides the text at a juncture where the concern of the narrative is focused down to a smaller group of people until finally it is focused, in the Pentateuch, on Aaron and Moses,<sup>3</sup> or in Ruth, to David. As well as this theological interpretation of the formula, it should be noted that it always occurs in conjunction with other division markers.<sup>4</sup>

Another formulaic pattern which indicates the climax of an account, and thus generally its conclusion, is a name aetiology.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See e.g. the recent brief discussion in Childs, Introduction, pp. 256-262.

2. Gen 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2.

3. Eissfeldt, 'Biblos', pp. 461-462. Cf. Scharbert, Wort, p. 45, who notes that the formula occurs at different turning points in history.

4. Time change: Gen 2:4; 5:1; Subject change: Gen 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:19; 36:1; Time and venue: Gen 25:12; Subject and venue: Gen 36:9; Subject, time and venue: Gen 37:2.

5. See below, Chapter III A, 1, a - pp. 266-272.

These are common in Genesis as well as other narrative passages.<sup>1</sup> These can be seen to end an episode since they are often followed by other division markers which have already been discussed, as, for example, change of time (e.g. Gen 4:1, 25; 29-30 passim; Exod 2:10) or subject (Gen 2:23; 3:20; Exod 15:23).

There are also other formulae with the same demonstrative pronouns (אלה 'these') which are commonly used as summary statements in Genesis, and most commonly refer to the preceding text section,<sup>2</sup> but at times refer to the following, as headings.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, while these demonstrative formulae do mark a division between text sections, it is the context which determines whether they are anaphoric (summary subscripts) or cataphoric (summary headings). It is also the context which indicates whether they mark paragraphs or larger units such as episodes or complete stories.

In addition to formulaic summaries which indicate textual boundaries, there are other different summary clauses which serve this function. In Genesis 50, Pharaoh gave Joseph permission to go and bring his father to Egypt '(7) so Joseph went up to bring his father. There went up with him all of Pharaoh's servants, the elders of his

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1. E.g., among many examples, Gen 2:23; 3:20; 4:1, 25; Exod 2:10; 15:24.
2. Gen 9:19<sup>2</sup>; 10:5, 20, 31<sup>2</sup>; 36:10 and passim.
3. Gen 36 passim. See Schicklberger, TZ 34, p. 70.

house, and all of the elders of Egypt; (8) also all of Jacob's house and his brothers and his father's house ... (9) there also went up with him chariotry and cavalry, it was a large group'. Here the final clause serves to summarize the list. This ends the text unit, because in the next verse a change of venue is marked, starting a new unit. Summaries are not restricted to lists, however, since the action of a whole passage can be summarized at the end. Thus, after an account of Abraham circumcising his whole household (17:23-25) we are told '(25) On that day Abraham and Ishmael his son were circumcised, (27) and all of his retainers, houseborn or purchased from others, were circumcised with him'.<sup>1</sup>

These division markers fall into two general categories. One set of markers is syntactical, indicating a discontinuity between two literary units. This can be a discontinuity of time (indicated by references to ages and dates, by the verb or by more specific statements of temporal discontinuity - 'after that', etc. - as well as implicit time gaps), or a discontinuity of location (indicating a movement from one place to another, along with the related 'settling-formula' and its variants), or a discontinuity of subject (in which new personnel are introduced or stressed). All three of these discontinuities can be marked by syntactical discontinuities, that is a circumstantial clause which breaks the ordinary narrative chain of consecutive verbs.

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1. Cf. also the summaries in Gen 8:1b; 23:20; 30:43; 31:21.

The second general category of division markers is formal, involving those summaries which can serve either as introductions to or as final sections of a literary unit. These can be either formulaic or non-formulaic in character. Into this category can be grouped explicit statements of the commencement or termination of a section. Panel-writing also belongs to this category.

c. RHETORICAL DEVICES INDICATING DIVERSITY AND UNITY

In addition to these division indicators there are also marks of literary unity and discontinuity, grouped under the title of rhetorical devices, which can also delineate units of greater or lesser extent. One of these is the repetition of vocabulary or phraseology at the beginning and at the end of a textual unit. This is called an inclusio, and sets the unit apart from its context.<sup>1</sup> An example of an inclusio is Genesis 1:1 - 2:4a. In 2:4a, all of the non-formulaic vocabulary, i.e., all except for the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula itself, is a repetition of that found in the first verse, 'created, heaven and earth'. The pair 'heaven and earth' also occurs in the same order in both verses. While this order is that most frequently used in the Old Testament, it is deliberately used here (as can be demonstrated by the second half of 2:4, in which the order is reversed) to indicate a dichotomy between the two halves of the verse. This inclusio thus marks the seven day creation account as a unit separate from the following section.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See Lundbom, Jeremiah, p. 16, also Parunak, 'Typesetting', p. 4.

2. The inclusio is recognised by Muilenburg in JBL 88, p. 9.



This rhetorical device delineates literary units a few verses (e.g. 5:1b-2) to several chapters long. Coats suggests that the 'settling'-formula in 37:1 opens the Joseph story ('And Jacob settled in the land where his fathers has resided, in the land of Canaan'), and that the same formula in 47:27a closes it ('And Israel settled in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen'). This parallel, or inclusio, he suggests, not only defines the boundaries of the story, but also 'suggests ... a structural dialectic in the Joseph story itself'.<sup>1</sup> Examples of the same device in other OT passages, including those of different literary genres, were noted by Porten.<sup>2</sup>

Andersen noted that a similar rhetorical device - the recapitulation or 'echo' of some important point, sometimes through the use of a circumstantial clause - can be used to close an episode.<sup>3</sup> The example of this device which he gives is the story of Noah's nakedness in Genesis 9. After being told, in a series of 1-consecutive verbs, that Shem and Japheth went in backwards to cover their father, the action is 'echoed' in v. 23b, 'their faces were towards the back so they did not see their father's nakedness', a circumstantial clause. The new section opening with a time discontinuity in the next verse ('when Noah awoke from his wine'), shows that this recapitulation does in fact close the previous section.

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1. Coats, Canaan, p. 9. An example of inclusio indicating a text section in a Sumerian text was noted by G. Gragg in 'The Fable of the Heron and the Turtle', AfO 24 (1973), p. 54.

2. HUCA 38, p. 94 and n. 2.

3. Sentence, p. 81; see also McEvenue, Style, p. 38 concerning the 'echo'.

The criteria derived from discourse analysis indicating a textual division is harder to control than some methods previously mentioned since, as McEvenue has shown, recapitulatory 'echo' is also used to link two or more units which are separated by a division marker. An example which he cites is the time reference 'after the flood' which forms part of the inclusio in Gen 10:1, 32, and is an echo of 9:28a and is again mentioned in 11:10. Other components of this inclusio are also echoes.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, as well as showing divisions between two sections of a text, the rhetorical devices mentioned above also indicate a textual unity. The inclusio was by definition a repetition of vocabulary at the beginning and end of a text section, thus dividing the text by showing a textual unity, i.e. that portion enclosed by the inclusio. The echo can also serve as a uniting feature, since in it one passage resumes a theme or vocabulary introduced in a previous passage. The latter must either predate or be contemporaneous with the former.

Another rhetorical linking device is the chiasm or 'palistrophe'.<sup>2</sup> Not only can a chiasm indicate the unity of one section in contrast to others,<sup>3</sup> it can also serve to unite two passages that

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1. Ibid., p. 38.

2. Also called variously 'concentric inclusion', 'concentric structure' or 'complex inclusion', the structure proceeds through a series and then returns through the same series in the form ABCC'B'A'; cf. ibid., pp. 29, 157-158.

3. See McEvenue's discussion of the chiasm of Gen 17 in ibid; also Fokkelman, Narrative, pp. 15, 22, 33 and n. 34, 35, 37, n. 46, 92-94, 95-97, 97-100 and passim of Gen 11:3 (sound chiasm נלכנה לבנים); Gen 11:1-9, Lev 24:17-21 and other talionic passages; Gen 9:6; 2:23; 25:20-26, 29-34; 27:1-28:5 respectively. For discussions of chiasm, see e.g. N.W. Lund, Chiasmus in the New Testament (Chapel Hill, 1942); McEvenue, Style. See also W. H. Shea, 'The Chiastic Structure of the Song of Songs', ZAW 92 (1980) for a discussion of examples from Mesopotamia and Egypt.

have been shown to be distinct units into a larger whole. For example, the chiasm 'heaven and earth - earth and heaven' in Gen 2:4 indicates a conscious unification of the two passages Gen 1:1-2:4a and 2:4bff.<sup>1</sup> Larger units are also indicated by this type of structure.<sup>2</sup>

A rhetorical device in Genesis, related to the echo that also repeats vocabulary of one section in another, is prolepsis, or the anticipation of an event or action before it is actually recorded. This occurs in the form of a summary note. For example, Gen 6:5-7 records Yahweh's dissatisfaction with man's wickedness and his vow to destroy man. V.8, which ends a section by a circumstantial clause (cf. p. 184) tells of Noah's uprightness. After a tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula division marker (Gen 6:9), another circumstantial clause reaffirms Noah's good character (v.9b) and vv. 10-7:24 detail the destruction of man. This not only exemplifies the use of summary anticipation followed by detailed fulfilment, but also utilizes a chiasm - A-vow to destroy B-Noah's righteousness, B'-Noah's righteousness, A'-destruction - to unite two separated sections.<sup>3</sup> Another interesting example is found in Gen 37:36 and 39:1, which records Joseph's descent to Egypt and his purchase by Potiphar. The two notes of this sequence of events in these two verses are separated by the Judah-Tamar incident in Gen 38.

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1. See Parunak, 'Typesetting', pp. 1-15 for further examples and observations upon these techniques.

2. See examples noted in <sup>p. 205</sup>n. 3, also see Gen 12-21 as noted by Westermann (following others) in Promises, pp. 58-59; see Porten, HUCA 38, 94ff for other examples in Gen and elsewhere.

3. Cf. Longacre, SBL, <sup>1976</sup>pp. 236, 241.

Gen 39:1 is then a recapitulation and resumption (Wiederaufnahme) of the narrative which had been temporarily interrupted by the intervening chapter. The resumption indicates the unity of the passage as it now stands, including chapter 38.<sup>1</sup> This recapitulation occurs also in other narrative passages.<sup>2</sup>

The Hebrew text of Genesis fits well into its contemporary literary milieu as far as its structure is concerned. Divisions between text sections in other documents, while at times employing overt, extra-textual indicators of separate units (e.g. rulings or spaces) which are not used in the Hebrew Old Testament, share many similarities with those divisions which are indicated in Genesis within the text itself. There is nothing out of the ordinary in the structure of the book which might indicate that it is a heterogeneous amalgam of originally separate sources which have been melded, at times leaving evidence of crude joins, as some have proposed. As far as the matters discussed in this paper are concerned, Genesis appears to be a well-structured literary document. Concerning the absolute or even the relative dating of the final composition of this book, we can determine nothing significant from this study of textual division indicators, since the criteria used to determine section boundaries are not peculiar to any specific period.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cf. Seeligmann, TZ 18, p. 315.

2. See ibid., pp. 314-324 for a discussion of the phenomenon of the 'Wiederaufnahme' and other examples.

3. Cf. a similar observation by Childs (Introduction, p. 389) concerning a study of the literary structure and unity of Joel not answering the question as to the identity of the author(s).

Hebrew narrative also corresponds to some of the different language universals noted by Longacre.<sup>1</sup> Since narrative is rooted in actual time, chronological succession is important and involves actually elapsed time (cf. pp. 210, 236 below regarding the importance of chronology in ritual texts). As posited by Longacre, and evidenced by the study of Hebrew narrative, actual episodes are often inter-related by the use of relative time. Thus, this internal analysis of Hebrew narrative produced results which are not only consistent with features of other, closely related Semitic languages, but also consistent with observations as they pertain to data concerning language universals.

## 2. RITUAL: LEVITICUS 1-7<sup>2</sup>

It has already been noted (p. 34 and n.1) that Lev 1-7 is a distinct literary unit set off from its context by subject matter. This section of the thesis will study indicators of divisions other than those provided by the sense of the passage. In other words, our main concern will be with the syntactic rather than the semantic level, though the ~~later~~<sup>†</sup> will be noted to see if it supplies support for textual divisions proposed on other grounds.

Lev 1-7 is used for this study as a representative of the 'ritual' genre. It has the advantage of including various rituals, and cultic occasions for their use, within a short section of text.

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1. Anatomy, pp. 197-231.

2. See p. 170, n. 1 above.

These rituals are recorded in a casuistic form, similar to that used in many legal, omen and medical as well as other ritual texts.<sup>1</sup> The passage is thus worthy of study as an example of a number of distinct but related genres.

Since the rituals in Lev 1-7 are not simply listed seriatim but rather are given a narrative framework, it would be no surprise to find that they share some indicators of discontinuity with the narrative material already studied (pp. 174-208 above). Due to the nature of the text describing and prescribing a series of rituals to be performed at the same sanctuary, there are no changes in venue within these chapters.<sup>2</sup> The text itself is said to have originated at the Tent of Meeting (Lev 1:1) in the wilderness of Sinai (Lev 7:38; see pp. 34, n.1 and 35). There are thus no divisions marked by this marginal reference to the locale, though these venue notices do

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1. Law - e.g. KAV 1-21, passim (MA; cf. G.R. Driver and J.G. Miles, The Assyrian Laws [Oxford, 1935], pp. 279-438). See also Petschow, 'Stilformen', pp. 24-38 for a discussion of the summa-formula in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite law.

Omens - e.g. Leichty, Izbu, passim, containing texts from the OB to NA periods. In the former, diš 'if, in the case of' was used, while in the latter period, the ideogram be was used with the same meaning.

Medicine - e.g. Labat, TDP, passim.

Rituals - e.g. Biggs, SA.ZI.GA, 57 and passim in therapeutic rituals from the OB to NA periods. For further references see Borger, Handbuch III, under his relevant sections.

2. Cf. pp. 194-198 concerning venue change in narrative texts.

serve to open and close the unit.<sup>1</sup>

Change in time is of less importance to this ritual text due to its casuistic, prescriptive, timeless nature.<sup>2</sup> Lev 1-7 does not present a temporally ordered account of rituals which are to be performed over a period of time, as do some other ritual texts.<sup>3</sup> Instead, what are recorded are the procedures for eventualities which had arisen or which might arise and require the particular ritual.<sup>4</sup> There is note made of the general time period of the reception of revelation concerning the ritual instructions (Lev 7:38 'in the day that he commanded the children of Israel ...', see p. 36 ) but not of the use of these rituals themselves. Other examples of the same phenomenon are also to be found.<sup>5</sup> There are cases in which the ritual texts themselves are divided into units by notices of time change, but these will be discussed below (p.236 ).

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1. See also e.g. Lev 25:1; Num 9:1.

2. Cf. pp. 175-184 concerning time change in narrative texts.

3. E.g. Num 28-29. Rainey notes that there is a logical connection between the sacrifices in Lev 1-7, but it is not one of time ( ZPEB 4, p. 201). Cf. Lev 23 in which the time change is accompanied by speech and commission clauses (cf. pp. 212-215 ). Also e.g. RAcc, pp. 16:15; 36:20, r. 5; 38:17, 20 (all about covering a kettle drum); 75:1; 76:21; 77:48; 79:29, 33 (concerning daily sacrifices); 89:2, 6, 7, 16; 92:10; 93:15 (concerning the akitu-festival); also the ritual tablets of several of the ritual series which usually occur as the first tablet of the series (e.g. bīt rimki in Zimmern Beitrage II, 26,vi:53; mis pī, bīt mēseri and possibly bīt salā' mē - see Laessøe Bit rimki, p. 23) though some have them at the end (e.g. maqlū and lamaštu - ibid.); cf. KTU 1.41; 1.46. In those texts, time changes serve as division markers.

4. Cf. Noth, Leviticus, p. 20.

5. E.g. Lev 16:1 'after the death of ...'; Num 9:1 'in the first month of the second year after they left the land of Egypt'.

ויקרא אל-משה וידבר יהוה אליו מאהל מועד לאמר: (2) דבר

אל-בני ישראל ואמרת אלהם אדם כי-יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה ...

' (1) Yahweh called to Moses and spoke to him from the Tent of Meeting.

(2) "Speak to the Israelites and say, Anyone of you who brings an offering to Yahweh ...". The first verse is syntactically unrelated to either the preceding or the following contexts, and gives no indication of the content of the subsequent passage, which it heads. It indicates a new element of divine speech, in this case, of instruction which is recorded separately from that which precedes, as well as stating the place where the revelation was given.<sup>1</sup>

A variation of this clause occurs in Lev 4:1: וידבר

יהוה אל-משה לאמר: (2) דבר אל-בני ישראל לאמר נפש כי-תחטא בשגגה

'(1) And Yahweh spoke to Moses, (2) "Speak to the Israelites, and say, Anyone who inadvertently sins ...". The subject matter changes here, as it did between the end of Exodus and Lev 1. This time a discussion of sacrifices according to the offered material (1:1-3:17) is followed by a discussion of those occasions which would necessitate other sacrifices (4:1-5:26).<sup>2</sup> The clause, like that in Lev 1:1, is syntactically unrelated to the context and does not indicate the content

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1. Noted by Harrison, Introduction, p. 595; cf. Noth, Leviticus, p. 10.

2. Cf. Keil and Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 270. Lev 1:1-3:17 has been distinguished from 4:1-5:26 on the grounds of the expiatory function of the latter sacrifices (Noth, Leviticus, p. 33; de Vaux, Israel, pp. 418-421, 429-30) but this distinction cannot be strictly maintained since the עלה (chap. 1) has this function as well, cf. 1:4, in which it is לכפר עליו, 'to make the atonement for him'. Levine (Presence, p. 73, n. 51) holds that the עלה is in the same category, i.e., קדש ליהוה 'extremely holy', as the חטאת and אשם ('sin' and 'guilt' offerings respectively), but this does not explain why they are presented in different sections of the text. Also, the עלה is never designated as 'extremely holy'.



of the following passage.

The same statement of divine speech ('and Yahweh spoke to Moses') occurs a further seven times in these chapters, each time at a juncture between two distinct sections within the overall unity of sacrificial instructions and always with the same lack of syntactic and semantic relationship with its immediate context.<sup>1</sup>

Although the speech-clauses do not introduce a new subject of the sentence, since it is Yahweh speaking in each case, they do begin a new speech section. The position of these clauses relative to their context, as well as their indication of a new part of God's continuing instruction to Moses,<sup>2</sup> mark them as being introductory formulae, as has been noted by others.<sup>3</sup> They do not introduce the content of the following passages, but only indicate the division between two text sections and comprise part of what Noth calls the 'narrative framework' of the book.<sup>4</sup> A functional designation of them would be 'division markers'.

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1. The other occurrences are Lev 5:14, 20; 6:1, 12, 17; 7:22, 28.

2. The continuity of the action in the progress of the event-line is shown by the 1 + PC (prefix-conjugation) verb which starts the clause; see Longacre, SBL 1976, p. 239 and Andersen, Sentence, p. 77.

3. E.g. Rendtorff, Gesetze, pp. 68-69 and Noth, Leviticus, pp. 10, 18, 21 and passim.

4. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

This 'speech clause' is not restricted to these chapters. It, or variants,<sup>1</sup> including those in which the initial verb is **וַיֹּאמֶר**, 'and he said', rather than **וַיְדַבֵּר**, 'and he spoke',<sup>2</sup> occur at the start of a new text section in other P passages<sup>3</sup> as well as those imputed to other sources.<sup>4</sup>

Both occurrences of the Hebrew speech clause discussed (Lev 1:1; 4:1; pp. 211 / <sup>-212</sup> ) were followed by the clause **דַּבֵּר אֶל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ** 'Speak to the Children of Israel and say/saying' (1:2; 4:2 respectively). These also are syntactically unrelated to their context and do not indicate the content of the following passage. They do show to whom the instruction was to be transmitted. The same clause occurs in two other verses (7:23,29), and in yet another (6:2) a different clause with the same transmission or function is used, i.e.

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1. The variants within the statement, though minor, seem enough to preclude the adjective 'stereotyped' used by Rendtorff, Gesetze, p. 70 and Noth, Leviticus, p. 21. They show at least a small amount of literary freedom on the part of the scribe.

2. See Rendtorff, Gesetze, pp. 68-69 for a discussion of the different terminology used in the variants.

3. E.g. in the 'Holiness Code' (Lev 17-26): Lev 17:1; 18:1; 19:1; 20:1; 21:1 (**וַיֹּאמֶר**), 16; 22:1, 17, 26; 23:1, 9, 23, 26, 33; 24:1, 13; 25:1. All read **וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר**, 'and Yahweh spoke to Moses', except where noted. In the Creation Account (Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29) all read **וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים**, 'and God said'.

4. E.g. J: Gen 12:1; 13:14; Exod 3:7; 4:27; E: Gen 35:1, 10, 11; Exod 9:22; 10:12; D: Jos 1:1; 3:7.

In cognate languages, other division markers are used which also are not syntactically or semantically related to the context. These are the extra-textual division markers studied above (pp. 159-169).

לֹאמַר 'Command Aaron and his sons, saying ...'.

In each case, these clauses immediately follow the speech clause already noted ('and Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying'). Their syntactic independance from the context, like that of the speech clauses, indicates that they too serve as division markers, but they are more inclusive, since several of the speech markers are at times included in one passage headed by the 'commission' marker. Noth treats both of these markers under the single name 'introductory formulae'.<sup>1</sup>

Both the speech and commissioning clauses are in an introductory position and have a limited amount of internal variation, but since they are not co-extensive and have different functions, they should be given different names within Noth's more general classification.

Texts of this genre in cognate languages do not have the speech markers which indicate textual division. This is due to their nature as actual ritual texts without a narrative framework. Other, extra-textual markers are used to mark divisions as already noted above (pp. 159-169 and p. 213, n. 4). The 'commission' marker 'speak/say to X' does not occur in Akkadian ritual texts since these are either impersonal, and so in the third person,<sup>2</sup> or else addressed directly to the officiant, so being in the second person.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, there is no

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1. Leviticus, pp. 18, 53.

2. E.g. RAcc., 149:2: <sup>lú</sup> šeš.gal zi -ma a.meš id tu<sub>5</sub>, 'the urigallu-priest will arise and he will bathe in the river water'.

3. E.g. RAcc., 3:7: enuma gu<sub>4</sub> ana é mummu tušerribu, 'when you bring an ox into the mummu-house'; see E. Salonen, 'Die Gruss-und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonische-assyrischen Briefen', StOr 38 (1967) passim.

occasion for a command to relay a message.

The 'commission' marker does occur in Akkadian letters, however, and in a parallel form to that in Hebrew. A common address-formula from the OB to the NB periods is ana X qibima umma Y 'Speak to X: thus (says) Y' in which the two clauses are sometimes reversed. The first clause corresponds to the Hebrew 'commission' formula with the use of the same preposition and a semantically parallel imperative. The second clause gives the author or originator of the message in the third person, i.e. by his name, in a messenger formula. This corresponds partially to the speech marker ('and Yahweh said to Moses') in which the speaker is named as Yahweh. Mention of Moses as the indirect object in this Hebrew clause arises from its character as a narrative description of a communication, rather than simply a presentation of the communication itself such as in the letters, i.e. the biblical account is in the third person while the letters are in the second person. There is a 'commission' formula in Hebrew texts, however, which more closely corresponds to that in Akkadian than does the Hebrew speech marker. This commission or 'messenger' formulae occurs frequently in prophetic texts and will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 248-249).

Both speech and commission clauses occur in the OT letters, if it is remembered that letters were originally oral messages. When David sent messengers to Nabal: ... ואמר דוד לנערים עלו כרמלה :... ואמרם כה. 'And David said to his helpers, 'Go up to Carmel ... (6) and say thus ...' (1 Sam 25:5b-6). The order of clauses here is (1) speech clause, (2) preliminary action, (3) commission clause. The same structure,

with or without part (2) are also found in, e.g. Gen 32:3-4(J);  
1 Ki 20:9(D); Ezr 4:11(Aram., post-exilic).

Noth interpreted the 'introductory formulae' in Leviticus (i.e. the speech and commission clauses) as indicating the narrative framework of the larger, literary context which serves to link divine instructions.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the narrative nature is indicated by them in supplying some of the context in which each unit is given. In these chapters, however, only the speech clauses 'link' instructions since they here show that the same participants are in each passage. The commission clauses can serve as indicators of disjunction between the participants. In Lev 6-7, Moses is commanded to address Aaron and his sons (6:2,18) and then the Israelites (7:23,29). The two participants in the action of the speech clause i.e. Yahweh and Moses, remain the same, but the commission clause indicates a division of the material.

These indicators do not have exact parallels in Akkadian ritual texts because of the nature of the biblical account being a second-hand or related ritual as shown by these indicators. The Akkadian ritual tablets do divide the text at points corresponding to the Hebrew divisions by using lines or spaces. The Akkadian indicators also occur at points at which a division is indicated by a change of the subject matter of the text itself. These points indicate a conscious and planned structure of the text.

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1. Leviticus, p. 10.

Apart from those already mentioned, there are a number of other formulae in Lev 1-7. Some relate to ritual actions which are repeated in several sacrifices, e.g. הקטיר המזבחה 'cause to smoke on the altar' - 1:9,13,17; 2:2,9; 3:5,11 and passim. These are not related to this discussion. Others, however, are linguistic formulae, and so are relevant here.

In these chapters, the most common are those which have been called 'casuistic introductions',<sup>1</sup> since they introduce new cases. The first encountered is כי (אדם) 'should (anyone)' - 1:2. In this conditional sense,<sup>2</sup> כי, with or without an indefinite pronoun אדם/נפש 'someone' occurs eleven times at the start of a clause in Lev 1-7.<sup>3</sup> אם 'if' occurs twenty times in this position.<sup>4</sup> אשר, which is used only rarely as a conditional particle,<sup>5</sup> occurs in that capacity twice in these chapters.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 'Kasuistische Einführung', Rendtorff, Gesetze, p. 65 n.53, referring specifically to כי אדם.

2. A 'real' condition, i.e. one that is realisable, in contrast to one which is not. This is indicated by the particle used and the imperfect tense of the following verb; see GK, para. 159 and Williams, Syntax, para. 446.

3. כי אדם - 1:2; נפש כי - 2:1; 4:2; 5:1,4,15,21; 7:21; כי - 2:4; 5:3; 7:25. In 5:3 and 4, the clause-initial או 'or' serves as a conjunction, leaving כי (נפש) to function as the initial word in an independant clause.

4. 1:3,10,14; 2:5,7,14; 3:1,6,7,12; 4:3,13,27,32; 5:7,11,17; 7:12,16,18.

5. Williams, Syntax, para. 469.

6. אשר - 4:22; נפש אשר - 5:2.

Seven of the nine occurrences of כִּי in the first five chapters are syntactically related to indefinite pronouns, i.e. נֶפֶשׁ or אָדָם. One exception occurs in Lev 5:3. In 5:1-5, the conditional is expressed five times in three different ways.<sup>1</sup> The absence of a pronoun in 5:3 could well reflect the scribe's ability to exercise creative initiative, even in such a limited scope, through substitution (v. 2) and elision (5:3). This does not have to be an error, as posited in BHS in v. 2. The other exception (2:4) is possibly an elision of the feminine נֶפֶשׁ, since the verb, as in v. 1, has the prefix ה and so is possibly feminine even though no feminine subject is explicit. It is possible, however, that the prefixed ה on the verb is second person masculine singular since there are several such pronominals in vv. 4-8.<sup>2</sup>

The particle כִּי is invariably positioned at the head of a text-section in Lev 1-5. It also occurs, with only one exception, immediately after a division marker as defined above (p.212 ). The collocation indicates that this casuistic formula also serves here as a division-marker. This cannot be its only function, or even its main one, since a complete duplication of function would be redundant.

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1. כִּי - נֶפֶשׁ 1; כִּי - אָדָם 2; כִּי - 3; כִּי - נֶפֶשׁ 4; וְהָיָה כִּי - 5, cf. 1Q5 vi 4 (see Liedke, Gestalt, p. 26 and n. 3). For 3 and 4 see p. 217, n. 3. These all introduce the protasis of casuistic laws, thus invalidating Fishbane's claim that אִישׁ/אָדָם כִּי and אִישׁ אָדָם are the only two means of doing so (HUCA 45 [1971], p. 30). Their interchangeability here indicates the parallel function of the two formulae.

2. See Liedke, Gestalt, pp. 23-24.

This formula, and those involving **אם** and **אשר**, are syntactically related to their context as is not the case with the division markers. The syntactic relationship permits these formulae to serve also as content indicators. For example, the introduction in Lev 1:2 contains two components: (1) **כי [מכם] אם** 'should someone [of you]' and (2) **יקריב...קרבן** 'offer an offering'. The first phrase in this formula marks the introduction of a new case, so fulfilling the division marker role, and the second indicates the content. As well as the general category of **קרבן**, 'offering', the same pattern is used in sub-categories, and in even further subdivisions. For example, in 4:2, **נפש כי תחטא בשגגה** 'should someone' serves as the division marker and **תחטא בשגגה** 'sin inadvertantly' indicates the context of this new subdivision. A list of division and content markers in these chapters is included in Figure 1.



Figure 1

Reference	Formula	Context <sup>1</sup>
	Speech Commission Content	
1:1	וידבר	
2	דבר אל- בני ישראל	
2	אדם כי	Offering
3	אם	Burnt Offering
10	ואם	Small animal
14	ואם	Bird
2:1	ונפש כי	Cereal Offering
4	וכי	Oven-baked
5	ואם	Griddle-cooked
7	ואם	Pan-cooked
14	ואם	First-fruits
3:1	ואם	Peace Offering
6	ואם	Small animal
7	אם	Sheep
12	ואם	Goat
4:1	וידבר	
2	דבר אל-בני ישראל	
2	נפש כי	Sin Offering
3	ואם	Priest
13	ואם	Nation
22	אשר	Leader
27	ואם	Commoner
32	ואם	Sheep
5:1	ונפש כי	Silent Witness

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## Division and Content Markers in Lev 1-7 (continued.)

Reference	Formula	Context
	Speech Commission Content	
5:2	או נפש אשר	Uncleanness-animal
3	או כי	Uncleanness-man
4	או נפש כי	Unwitting oath
7	ואם	Doves
11	ואם	Flour
14	וידבר	
		[Guilt Offering]
15	נפש כי	Fraud against God
17	ואם נפש כי	Breaking God's Law
20	וידבר	
21	נפש כי	Fraud against neighbour
6:1	וידבר	
2	צו את-אהרן	
2	זאת תורת	Burnt Offering
7	זאת תורת	Cereal Offering
12	וידבר	
13	זה	Dedication Offering
17	וידבר	
18	דבר אל-אהרן	
18	זאת תורת	Sin Offering
7:1	זאת תורת	Guilt Offering
11	זאת תורת	Peace Offering

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1. This column is schematically arranged so as to indicate divisions and subdivisions.

## Division and Content Markers in Lev 1-7 (continued.)

Reference	Formula	Context
	Speech Commission Content	
7:12	אם	Thanks Offering
16	ואם	Votive & voluntary offerings
18	ואז	Eating options
22	וידבר	
23	דבר אל- בני ישראל	
28	וידבר	
29	דבר אל- בני ישראל	

The sole occurrence of *נפש אשר* (Lev 5:2) is functionally in the same initial position relative to the following text-section as was *כי* since it is one of a number of conjoined independant clauses.<sup>1</sup> Its parallel position in this catalogue of offences which is itself summed up by *כי*,<sup>2</sup> indicates a parallel casuistic-introductory function for this formula as well.

In contrast to *כי* and *אשר*, *אם* is not found in Lev 1-7 immediately following a division marker. It forms part of the heading for sections dealing with sacrificial matters in the form of options in each of its occurrences except 7:18. Twice it introduces a main textual division, i.e. the burnt (1:3) and peace (3:1) offerings.

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1. See p. 217, n. 3.

2. 5:5.

The other occurrences introduce options, either of material which could be offered or of the occasion for sacrifice (see Fig. 1, pp. 220-222 ). This appears to be what led Noth, Liedke and others to posit the original form of these chapters being in the order 1:2-17; 3:1-17; 2:1ff.<sup>1</sup> Liedke proposes that כִּי introduces a main case while אִם (or וְאִם) introduce sub-cases.<sup>2</sup> Wenham makes this same proposition based on the casuistic passage Exod 21-22.<sup>3</sup> This proposition does not correspond to the canonical form of Lev 1-3, however, which is the only objective source available to us. It appears that Liedke, and possibly Noth, had initially formulated the hypothesis concerning the use of כִּי and אִם on the basis of some texts and then, in applying it to other texts, emended the latter to fit the theory, a form of circular argument. Based on Jepsen's study of Exod 21-22, Liedke proposed a hierarchy of אִם/וְאִם/כִּי.<sup>4</sup> This does not hold for Lev 1-7 because the main offerings involved in these chapters are marked respectively by אִם (1:3), וְנִפְשׁ כִּי (2:1), וְאִם (3:1), and נִפְשׁ כִּי (4:2). According to Liedke's hierarchy, one would expect כִּי (נִפְשׁ) at the top (or beginning), as it is in 1:2, which deals with the most general designation קָרְבָּן. This would then be followed by the next sub-categories (עֹלָה, מִנְחָה etc.) headed by אִם-וְאִם . This is not what is found, however, as can be seen in Fig.1, pp. 220-222. Even

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1. Noth, Leviticus, pp. 19, 26, 30; Liedke, Gestalt, p. 22 and n. 8 for references.
2. Ibid., and p. 31 referring to Jepsen, Bundesbuch, pp. 55-56.
3. Wenham, TB 22 (1971), p. 97.
4. Liedke, Gestalt, pp. 32-34 referring to Jepsen, Bundesbuch, pp. 55-56.

with the proposed relocation of Lev 3 before Lev 2, the necessary hierarchy would not hold since  $\text{ואם}$  (3:1) is not in any of Liedke's examples on a par with  $\text{אם}$ , although it can be with  $\text{כי}$ .<sup>1</sup> This last possibility of  $\text{ואם-כי}$  is what is found in the MT of 2:1 and 3:1 in the order in which they now are, so could be an argument for the integrity of the canonical MT chapter order.

Options are also marked by  $\text{כי}$  and  $\text{אשר}$ . The first of four possible forms of the cereal offering is headed by  $\text{כי}$  (2:4) in contrast to the other three with  $\text{ואם}$  (vv. 5,7,14). Each of those four verses share several structural similarities. The first three mention the  $\text{קרבן}$  and the first and last use the verbal form  $\text{תקריב}$ . In each of the four verses the options are called a  $\text{מנחה}$ . Also, the first three are grouped together in the canonical text, indicating that the scribe perceived some form of unity. Although having their own preparatory instructions, all three share a common set of burning procedures (vv. 8-10).<sup>2</sup> The last, being of different offering material, has its own set of preparation and burning procedures. These points indicate that  $\text{כי}$  is synonymous with  $\text{ואם}$  in this passage and shares its function.<sup>3</sup>  $\text{אשר}$  shares a similar relationship to  $\text{ואם}$  in 4:22, which is one of four possible occasions for the sin offering, the other three of which are headed by  $\text{ואם(ו)}$  (vv. 3,13,27). All four cases appear equal, with no special significance due to the alternative conditional pronouns.

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1. See Liedke, Gestalt, p. 33.

2. All three are united by the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun  $\text{אלה}$  in v. 8.

3. This would preclude the translation of this passage in the Jerusalem Bible in which  $\text{כי}$  is translated temporally, i.e. by 'when' as opposed to  $\text{ואם}$  being translated conditionally, i.e. by 'if'.

5:17 opens with two casuistic particles, i.e. **וְאִם** **כִּי** 'and should, should someone', which is an apparent redundancy. Both this and **כִּי** (v. 15) introduce cases in which a guilt offering of a ram must be made. There is no discernable difference in function between the two particles, and also no apparent difference in meaning between vv. 15 and 17 using one and two particles respectively. All three of these conjunctions, **כִּי**, **אִם** and **אֲשֶׁר**, are synonymous in introducing real conditions.<sup>1</sup> It appears that the usual term was **כִּי**, with **אִם** used as a common variant. The priority of **כִּי** is shown by its use first when both are used in conjunction, e.g. 1:2-3; 2:4-5; 4:2-3. **אֲשֶׁר** is then used as a third option to add variety, since there is no apparent difference in meaning when it is used. In Lev 4 it provides variety with **כִּי** (v. 2) and **אִם** (vv. 13, 27, 32) as well as in the beginning of chap. 5 (1: **כִּי**, 2: **אֲשֶׁר**, 3-5: **כִּי**).

Liedke argues that the casuistic form evolved from an original construction such as that found in Exod 21-22 which starts with **כִּי** with verbs in the third person singular. A secondary development is the 'if you' form in which second person verbs are used. A further development is the use of the subject, usually an indefinite pronoun, before the conditional particle.<sup>2</sup> As he notes, however, even

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1. See Williams, Syntax, para. 514.

2. Liedke, Gestalt, pp. 2, 9-31.

Exod 21-22, generally agreed to be the oldest legal document in the OT,<sup>1</sup> includes some of his 'secondary' categories along with the 'original' constructions.<sup>2</sup> There do not appear to be any early casuistic legal passages in which the 'original' alone is found, which again makes his argument appear to be circular. Even in Lev 1-7 there is a mixture of 'original' and 'secondary' forms,<sup>3</sup> all of which appear to have the same meaning.<sup>4</sup> This could mean that Lev 1-7 is a very late text in which a differentiation of meaning between the casuistic forms and particles has been lost, but this has not been convincingly argued. Also, it will be proposed below that Lev 1-7 is a reference work used in early cultic practice (pp.395-401, cf. pp. 154-155 ). Whatever the relative dating of the casuistic forms and the exact meanings of the particles, they still are content markers which divide the text.

Ancient Near Eastern legal documents are mustered by Liedke in support of his analysis of casuistic forms.<sup>5</sup> He compares parts of the Laws of Eshnunna<sup>6</sup> and the Laws of Hammurabi<sup>7</sup> with Exod

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1. See Wenham, TB 22, p. 97 and n. 17 for references.
2. Liedke, Gestalt, p. 20.
3. Ibid., pp. 22-24; see Fig. 1, pp. 220-222. For Lev 2:4, see p. 224 above.
4. See p. 224 and n. 3.
5. Liedke, Gestalt, pp. 26-29.
6. R. Yaron, The Laws of Eshnunna (Jerusalem, 1969).
7. E. Bergmann, Codex Hammurabi (Rome, 1953).

21:28-32.<sup>1</sup> He also notes that these laws parallel his 'original' casuistic form (see p. 226),<sup>2</sup> in which the form parallels that used in other casuistic texts, as already noted (p. 209).

The linguistic equivalent to כִּי, אִם, and אֲשֶׁר is the Akkadian šumma, 'if, in the case of', which introduces separate paragraphs in these texts. It introduces the protasis, with the diagnosis or prescription following in the apodosis. Much rarer, and only in the NB and LB periods, ki, cognate of כִּי, is used in similar, conditional contexts.<sup>3</sup> In each case the casuistic introduction is syntactically related to the following context.

The use of a conditional particle in an initial position was thus continued over a long period of time in Akkadian law and so it cannot be used to support either an early or a late date of the 'original' form.

In chapters 6-7 there is a repeated formula involving the demonstrative pronoun זֶה or זֹאת. This formula also has two components, one a division marker of a new section (זֶה/זֹאת תּוֹרָה)<sup>4</sup> and the other an indicator of the content of the passage headed (e.g. עֲלֵה מִנְחָה, etc.). The most common form, זֶה תּוֹרָה, concerns the five

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1. Liedke, Gestalt, pp. 27-28.

2. Ibid., p. 29.

3. Petschow, 'Stilformen', p. 31; cf. GAG, para. 162 d B; see CAD K, p. 318 for examples. For šumma and other types of legal formulation, see Paul, Studies, pp. 112-118.

4. See pp. 104-105.



sacrifices previously discussed in 1-5.<sup>1</sup> The unique occurrence of *זֶה* refers to an offering not previously mentioned. These are presented in Figure 2.

I Reference	II Formula	III Content
Lev 6:2	זאת תורת	Burnt Offering
7	זאת תורת	Cereal Offering
13	זה	Aaronide dedication Offering
18	זאת תורת	Sin Offering
7:1	זאת תורת	Guilt Offering
11	זאת תורת	Peace Offering

There is no direct syntactic link between the introductory clause and the following context.<sup>2</sup> In the two apparent exceptions (6:2 and 7:11) the introductory clause is related to following parenthetic and relative clauses, respectively. The unit formed by the introductory and related clauses is itself syntactically distinct from what follows.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The difference in order of presentation of the sacrifices in 6-7 from that in 1-5 arises from the administrative nature of the former in contrast to the didactic nature of the latter; see Rainey, *Bibl.* 51 (1970), pp. 485-498. For other occurrences of the phrase see *THAT II* (1976), p. 1037.

2. Cf. Rendtorff, *Gesetze*, p. 70.

3. The only syntactic relationship between the context and the introduction is in 6:7b where a pronoun refers back from the former to the latter.

Each of these formulae immediately precedes a section giving ritual instructions to the priest for the sacrifice mentioned. They are thus also headings, as were the division markers and the casuistic formulae, in which the demonstrative pronoun refers to what follows. In most cases, the priestly ritual, which is the subject of Lev 6-7, is the same for any one sacrifice, no matter which of the various materials is presented for it. There are thus not the same options with sub-headings as were found in chapters 1-5. The one exception is the peace offering. It has options in function, i.e. *חֹרֶה*, *נִדְבָה*, etc., rather than material or occasion for the offering. It uses *אִם*, as is shown in Figure 1, pp. 220-222.

The Akkadian parallels to the content markers are not as close to the Hebrew examples as were the division markers. In the incantation series *Maqlu*, for example, each incantation in the first eight tablets is preceded by the word *ēn*(*šiptu* 'incantation'), which indicates the nature of the following section, if not its exact content. Unlike the Hebrew markers *כִּי*, *אִם* and *אֲשֶׁר*, *ēn* is not syntactically related to any of the following passages and, as a result, indicates less concerning the content than the Hebrew examples had done. It is like *זֶאת חֹרֶה*, however, since both are syntactically unrelated to the context and give only a partial indication of content by saying what the nature of the following text will be. *ēn* also serves as a division marker due to its occurrence only immediately following a horizontal-line marker in the incantation tablets of the series.

The phrase *inim.inim.ma*, 'incantation', serves to describe some incantations, e.g. in the series *šà.zi.ga*.<sup>1</sup> Unlike *én*, which usually precedes the incantation, *inim.inim.ma* follows it, often separated by a line from the body of the incantation. This also is syntactically distinct from the passage to which it refers, and serves to divide incantations.

The formulae discussed above serve to indicate a division of the text into distinct sections and, in the case of some, to provide a notification concerning the content or nature of the passage to which they refer. The interpretation of these formulaic indicators as division markers is supported by the subject change which is seen in an analysis of the topic of each passage separated by these dividers. Thus a linguistic analysis of the text has led to the realisation that sections and subsections within the text can be discerned through a limited number of overt textual markers.

The texts of Lev 1-7 which we now have are, of course, centuries removed from the autographs. How might these markers have been used as dividers in the original text? This might be indicated in the Punic Marseille<sup>2</sup> and Carthage<sup>3</sup> Tariffs, dated 5-3rd cent. BC, which, like Lev 1-7, discuss sacrifices. Specifically, they concern different amounts to be paid to the officiating priests and those retained by the offerer. The Marseille Tariff (Pl. 1) has

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1. See Biggs, *Šaziga*, no. 1:12, 18 and passim.
2. KAI 69, pl. VI.
3. CIS I, 167 - pl. XXXVII; cf. Lidzbarski, Handbuch, pl. XII, 1.

a heading which serves as a division marker to indicate a new text

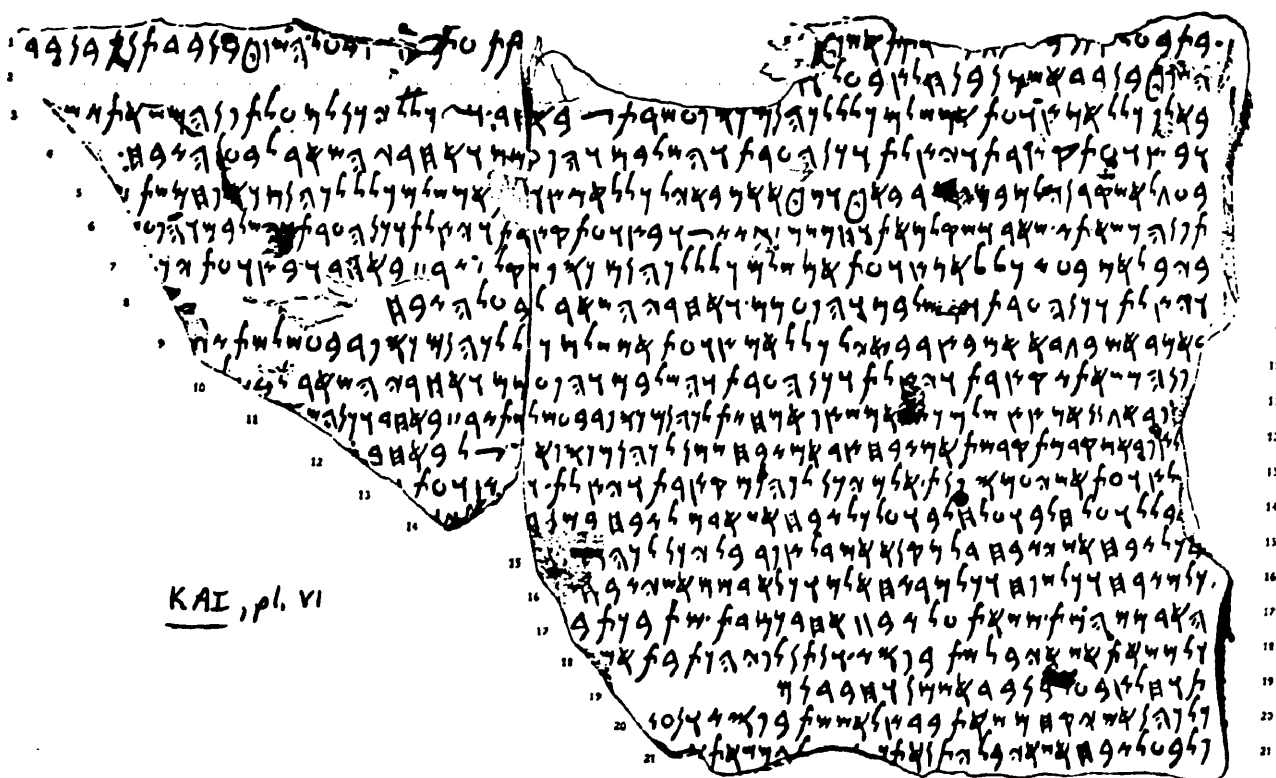


Plate 1.

section, since it occurs at the beginning of the text. It also indicates some of the content by giving the nature of the text, i.e. 'tariff of payments' בַּעַל הַמַּשׁ אֶתָּה (1).<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to the general content markers in Hebrew (e.g. X זָמַן תּוֹרָה, Lev 6:2; cf. pp. 227-229 ) and Akkadian (e.g. *en*; cf. pp. 229-230). The Punic heading also has phrases similar to those of the speech clauses in Leviticus, namely an indication of the place concerned, i.e. 'Temple of Ba'al [Zaphon]', בֵּית בַּעַל [צָפֹן], 1.1; cf. מֵאֵהָל מוֹעֵד, Lev 1:1, and the time period concerned, 11. 1b-2; cf. Lev 7:38.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See pp. 109-110.

2. בְּיוֹם צִוָּתוֹ וְגוֹ' 'on the day he commanded ...'; cf. p. 35.

This heading is syntactically separate from the following text, as are the division markers (i.e. the speech and commission clauses) and some of the context markers (i.e.  $\times$  תורת) mentioned. This separation is shown by the scribe leaving blank the second half of 1.2 of the Marseille Tariff and starting the next line at the right margin of the inscription rather than continuing on immediately after the heading.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of the Tariff is divided into sections dealing with different topics. The initial nine concern the various sacrifices and animals presented. The first four of these are headed by the names of the animals themselves, each preceded by the preposition b-, i.e. balp, 'for<sup>2</sup> an ox' (3); b'gl ... 'm b'yl, 'for a calf ... or for a deer' (5); bybl 'm b'z, 'for a ram or a goat' (7); and b'mr 'm bgd 'm bsrb 'yl, 'for a lamb or for a kid or for a srb deer' (9). The fifth section probably reads [bs]pr a'gmn 'm (b)<sup>3</sup> ss, 'for a agnn - bird or {for} a ss' (11), in continuity with the prepositions used with the previous animals mentioned and the restored preposition in the same line. The eighth section concerns bloodless sacrifices and is restored as ['l]<sup>4</sup> bll w'l h1b «w'l h1b»<sup>5</sup> w'l kl zbh 'š dm bmmh[t], 'concerning a mixed libation and concerning milk <and

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1. The heading of the Carthage Tariff, the ending of which is lacking, is indented at the beginning of the line as well.
2. Cf. Levine, Presence, p. 119 for  $\mathfrak{a}$  as 'in the case of; in the matter of'.
3. Cf. The Carthage Tariff, Lidzbarski, Handbuch II, XII:7, although the Marseille Tariff is not consistent in its inclusion of prepositions; cf. 1. 12 discussed on p. 233.
4. Cf. J. -B. Chabot, JA, 11th series, 17 (1921), p. 180:1.
5. Either a dittography (so van den Branden, RSO 40 [1965], pp. 123-124) or two homonyms (so ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 657). Only one h1b occurs in the Carthage Tariff, 1. 10.

concerning fat)) and concerning any offering which is offered as a meal-offering (1. 14). In this case, where a bloodless sacrifice is mentioned, the preposition used is ‘l, in contrast to b, which was found with the blood sacrifices. The next line, bkl zbh ‘š yzbh dl, 'for any offering which a poor person offers', combines blood and bloodless sacrifices and b- is again used. Based on this distinction of b-: blood or blood plus bloodless sacrifices, ‘l: bloodless sacrifices only, 1. 12 can be restored either [bk]l or [‘]l spr<sup>1</sup> ‘m qdmt qdšt ‘m zbh šd ‘m zbh šmn, 'for any spr or holy firstlings or šd - offering or oil', depending on whether spr and šd are taken as blood sacrifices, i.e. 'bird' and 'hunting' respectively,<sup>2</sup> or as bloodless sacrifices, i.e. 'perfume' and 'food' respectively.<sup>3</sup> There is enough space on the original for either restoration but the latter is preferable due to (1) the two specific kinds of birds in the previous line, which corresponds to the Hebrew use of only two kinds of birds (cf. Lev 1:14; 5:7) and (2) the bloodless nature of the identifiable offerings. The payment in 1. 13 is an additional payment in kind of meat, as it says: [b]kl šw‘t, 'for a šw‘t - offering', which should be so restored due to its character as a blood sacrifice.

The instructions concerning the payments made for the sacrifice of an ox (11. 3-4) include characteristics shared with the

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1. Although broken at the beginning of this line, the Carthage Tariff does not appear to have enough room to have included this option.

2. As translated by F. Rosenthal in ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 657.

3. Cf. van den Branden, RSO, p. 123; KAI I, p. 15.

other instructions noted so they will be used as an example. They read:

(3) balp kll 'm šw't 'm šlm kll lkhnk ksp 'srt 10 b'hd: w[b]kll ykn  
lm 'lt pn hmsa't z š[ 'r mšql X] (4) wbšw't qšrt wyšlt, 'For an ox.

General Rule.<sup>1</sup> If a šw't - sacrifice or if a complete whole-offering,<sup>2</sup>  
 ten - 10 - silver (shekels) for the priest for each: And for the whole -  
 offering they will have, in addition to this payment me[at weighing X<sup>3</sup>].  
 (4) And for the šw't - sacrifice, the breast (?) and the shoulder (?)'.

This has a heading designating the animal concerned (balp)  
 and another introducing the rule itself (kll). There are also sub-  
 headings for the two offering types ('m). All of these are content  
 markers, and all three types noted correspond to those in the Leviticus  
 passage (cf. Figure 1, pp. 220-222) and Figure 2, p.228.

The rest of the tariff deals with general rules concerning  
 payment, each beginning with the indefinite pronoun kl, 'every'  
 which corresponds to a number of similar rules also introduced by  
 indefinite pronouns in Lev 1-7.

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1. Based on Aramaic kelal according to van den Branden (RSO 40, p. 16). Although this meaning of the Aramaic word is only found in later, i.e. Rabbinic, sources (cf. Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 644), the context appears to call for such an interpretation since the following kll is the Punic 'whole offering'. Therefore the first use of the word would be redundant if it had the same meaning. Also, as van den Branden points out (RSO 40, p. 116), in the Carthage Tariff, l. 5, the word occurs, though in the plural, kllm, even though the Tariff appears to refer only to the šw't - sacrifice which is paid for in kind, as in the Marseille Tariff, rather than by money, as is done for the kll. Against this interpretation, see Levine, Presence, p. 120, who understands the kll to be a separate sacrifice from the šlm kll which is 'the šlm which accompanied the kll'.

2. For a discussion of the interpretation of šlm kll, see M. Dietrich, et al., 'Zu šlm kll in Opfertarif von Marseille (CIS I, 165)', UF 7 (1975), pp. 561-562.

3. Restored on the basis of l. 6.

Each of these headings are marked by the prepositions b- or 'l or the pronoun kl, and are syntactically related to the following context. They serve as content markers. The prepositions or pronoun do not comprise the marker, but only indicate a change of subject, which in turn indicates a new section of the text. Since they also always occur at the start of a new text section, they also serve to indicate textual divisions. This is shown by the space left before the next section begins in l. 2 (cf. pp. 231-232 ) and at the end of ll. 4, 8, 19 and probably 10 and 15. These spaces indicate that the two sections were considered as separate by the scribe and not to be amalgamated. These formulae can be accurately called division markers even though their main function is as content markers, since at each textual division one of them is found. At each occurrence of one of these formulae there is a new section, i.e. these formulae are necessary and sufficient to mark a textual division in the Tariffs. Each section also begins on a new line.

There are also subsections within the general payment rules which deal with special payments for the two kinds of offering.<sup>1</sup> In each case, the preposition which occurs in the formulae is preceded by the copula, i.e. wb-; ll. 3, 4, [5], 6, 7, [9]. Thus, while a distinction is marked by the wb-, the copula indicates that it is within the confines indicated by the more encompassing marker using only b-. These markers, while indicating content, also serve as division markers with the hierarchy of b- and 'l which indicate major sections concerning blood and bloodless sacrifices, respectively, and kl which

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1. These were noted above, p. 234.



indicates separate general rules, with wb- indicating subsections within the first mentioned section. As noted by Rosenthal, each paragraph, headed by a division marker, also begins a new line in the Marseille Tariff,<sup>1</sup> although not every new line begins a new paragraph as is the case in the shorter Carthage Tariff.

This analysis of the actual text of the Tariffs thus confirms the conclusions drawn by a study of the Hebrew texts, which are only copies. These had been reached strictly on the basis of textual, rather than extra-textual, data which the Tariffs are able to provide. Text sections, which are discernable internally on account of subject and other changes can also be found through the analysis of heading formulae. (See Appendix G, pp. 395-401 for a form-critical comparison of the Tariffs and Lev 1-7).

As was noted at the outset of this study of ritual texts (p. 210 ), Lev 1-7 is not internally divided by references to changes of time since the main concern is with the type of offering being presented or with the person for whom the offering is brought. There are other ritual texts in the OT which are arranged temporally and changes of time indicate a new section within the ritual texts. These are the ritual directions concerning the periodic offerings and holy days and are found in Lev 23 and Num 28-29. Each section is introduced by the time when the rituals are to be performed and then the section details the various procedures (see Appendix G, p. 399 , n.1 ).

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1. ANET<sup>3</sup>, p. 656.

In addition to these division markers which indicate the start of a new text section, Lev 1-7 also includes a number of colophons and summary subscripts. These have been studied above (pp. 34-38, 65 ). They also are division markers since they show the end of a text or a text section.

Ritual texts fit into the universal linguistic category of procedural texts.<sup>1</sup> Two major components of this category, according to Longacre, are prescription and chronological framework. Since the text is 'goal oriented, i.e., the interest is centered on telling how something is done',<sup>2</sup> personnel involved are not that important, and the text operates in projected time, i.e. no specific dates in the past are noted but instructions are given for future observance. Because of this time orientation, some ritual texts (see p. 210 ). do not have a time frame based on specific days or intervals. Lev 1-7 is not marked by such dates but rather by occasions, and these serve to provide the internal framework and separate the text into sections. This study has led to the discovery of features which are at home both within the closer Semitic environment and that of language universals.

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1. See Longacre, Anatomy, pp. 197-231, especially pp. 199-206.

2. Ibid., p. 200.

## 3. PROPHECY: AMOS

The book of Amos has been chosen for this analysis due to the presence of a number of different division markers in a short prophetic text. Its length allows adequate account to be made not only of the statements of a directly prophetic nature which are recorded in the book, but also of the narrative framework in which they are set. Amos has been the subject of several recent detailed enquiries which will be drawn upon and interacted with here.<sup>1</sup> The discussion will not be limited to Amos, however, but will also compare how the markers used in the book are employed in other prophetic works.

Part of the book of Amos is in the form of historical narrative (1:1 and the framework of the prophetic oracles and visions; e.g. 1:3; 7:10 and passim in the book). This shows similarities with the same narrative genre studied in Genesis (pp. 174-208 ) and the narrative framework of the laws of Lev 1-7 (pp. 209-237 ). Some of the same markers occur within the body of the prophecies, in addition to those occurring in the narrative portions (e.g. a marginal time reference opens the book in the narrative 1:1b and also occurs in the middle of one of Yahweh's prophetic speeches in 9:11).

Discontinuities are expressed in the narrative framework of the book, showing textual divisions. The very first verse ('The words of Amos, who was among the sheep breeders of Tekoah, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah ..., two years before the earthquake') indicates the prophet concerned, the subject of the prophecy and a marginal time reference, all providing an introductory setting for the book. They all are in a heading indicating the general oral genre, i.e. 'words' (see pp. 123-136 ). This, or another

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1. E.g. the commentary of Wolff, Joel and the analysis of Koch, Amos.

genre indicator, opens all of the prophetic books (see p. 48 ).

If both the genre and the time are given, it is usually in the order found in Amos (i.e. genre-time), but this is reversed in Ezek 1:1; Hag 1:1 and Mal 1:1. The time reference serves to place the prophecies on an absolute time scale in much the same way as similar notices in narrative texts already noted (p.178 ) in which, as here in Amos, further time references (see below) showed relative time and separated smaller textual units. The heading here and in other prophetic books identifies the work and distinguishes it from other members of the same genre. It is thus an initial division marker indicating a discontinuity.

Marginal time references occur seven more times in the book (6:7 לכן עתה 7:2-כ; 7:16-ועתה; 8:9 - והיה ביום ההוא; 8:11 (also 9:13) - והיה ביום ההוא; 8:13 - הנה למים באים) although none of these are part of the narrative framework, but rather are part of the prophecy itself. Each indicates a break within the prophecy, either a discontinuity of time (8:11) or a simultaneity of time but discontinuity of action (7:16; 8:9, 13).<sup>1</sup> In some prophetic texts, time references in the narrative framework are much more significant. For example, the chronological framework of Ezekiel has been called the 'backbone of the structure',<sup>2</sup> and Haggai is clearly divided into four oracles by time formulae.<sup>3</sup>

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1. For a list of the commentaries dividing the text at these points see Koch, Amos, pp. 221, col. 15; 223, col. 15; 225, col. 15. For 7:16 see Koch's own division, p. 211; cf. Wolff, Joel, p. 92.

2. Childs, Introduction, p. 365. Chronological notes in the narrative framework of Ezekiel occur in 1:2; 8:1; 20:1; 24:1; 26:1; 29:1; 31:1; 32:1, 17; 40:1; cf. 33:21.

3. Hag 1:1, 15 - 2:1, 2:10, 20; cf. ibid., p. 467.

וְעַתָּה occurs commonly in other texts,<sup>1</sup> but never in a narrative passage.<sup>2</sup> It functions to 'mark the [point of] articulation between the statement of a situation and the decision which it imposes or the call which it engenders'.<sup>3</sup> It presents a discontinuity between what has preceded, the 'then', and what follows, the 'now'.<sup>4</sup> Brongers posits a parallel in function in epistolary texts with the Akkadian umma, which, he notes, introduces Akkadian letters.<sup>5</sup> He cites as Hebrew parallels 1 Sam 25:1ff (see v. 7), 2 Ki 5:6 and 10:2. Brongers mentions the introductory salutation section of 1 Sam 25:6.<sup>6</sup> This is paralleled in Hebrew,<sup>7</sup> Aramaic,<sup>8</sup> Ugaritic<sup>9</sup> and Akkadian<sup>10</sup> messages and letters. There are also parallels in these languages to the adverb וְעַתָּה, either lexical parallels such as the Aramaic וְכַעֲנָה and other forms,<sup>11</sup> or

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1. According to Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 938-939 it occurs 276 times; cf. Brongers, VT 15 (1965), p. 290 - 275 times, and Laurentin, Bibl. 45 (1964), p. 170 - 264 times in the OT. Laurentin gives an analysis of the translation on the word into the LXX in ibid., n. 1. He studies the OT use of the adverb in ibid., pp. 168-197; cf. the works which he cites as well as Brongers, VT 15, pp. 289-299.

2. Laurentin, Bibl. 45, p. 171; cf. Brongers, VT 15, pp. 290-291.

3. Laurentin, Bibl. 45, p. 172; cf. pp. 192, 194-195; Brongers, VT 15, p. 298.

4. See e.g. Brongers, VT 15, p. 299.

5. Ibid., p. 296.

6. ואמרתם כה לחי ואתה שלום ובי תך שלום וכל אשר-לך שלום.

7. 2 Chr 2:11-12; Lachish I ii:1-2, iii:2-3 and passim; see Pardee, JBL 97, pp. 337-340.

8. E.g. Ezra 4:17; 5:7; Dan 3:31; AP 17:1; 21:2; 30:1; NESE I (1972), p. 11:1; III (1978), p. 49:4 and passim in Aramaic; see Fitzmyer, JBL 93, pp. 214-217.

9. E.g. KTU 2.1:1-2; 2:1-6 and passim in Ugaritic.

10. E.g. RS 17.286:4-5 (PRU IV, p. 180) and passim in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit - see Fisher, Parallels II, pp. 201-212; A. Salonen, Die Grös- und Hoflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen (Helsinki, 1967).

semantic parallels such as western Akkadian inūma.<sup>1</sup> In each case where these components occur, they are in the order (1) umma, (2) salutation, (3) adverb. The presence of a similar adverb to ועתה in the same position relative to the rest of the letter as in Hebrew texts indicates that the Hebrew adverb cannot have the same function as umma, which corresponds to the Hebrew speech report formula כה אמר and the Ugaritic thm (see pp. 247ff).

ועתה, or a form of it, does divide sections within letters.

It not only separates the body from the introductory material as in the examples already noted, but also introduces a new section within the body of a letter.<sup>2</sup> Its function as a division marker is shown by the substitution of šaniṭam 'secondly' introducing a new matter in some Akkadian letters,<sup>3</sup> and by the occasional use of lines in Akkadian letters to indicate a division.<sup>4</sup>

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11. E.g. Ezra 7:12; AP 17:2; 30:4; AD 4:1; 5:1 and passim in Aramaic; see Fitzmyer, JBL 93, p. 216; extra-biblical Hebrew; Arad-KA passim; Lachish-Lachish I ii:3; iii:4 and passim; Mur 17:2 (see DJD II, p. 96).

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1. E.g. Ug. V, 25:6; 26:5; cf. CAD I/J, pp. 159-160 sub inūma l b-g; inanna - Ug V 22:16; 26:14; appunama-PRU IV, p. 52:21.

2. E.g. Aramaic: AP 4:6; 16:8; 21:4; 26:22; Fisher, Claremont, p. 28:4; see also Fisher, Parallels II, pp. 200ff for Akkadian and Hebrew examples.

3. See references to examples and discussions in AHW, p. 1164 sub šaniṭu(m) II 1.

4. E.g. Ug. V, p. 21:1' (after address), 8' (after greeting), 27' (before šaniṭam); 22:4,6,13,15; 23:4,7 and passim from Ras Shamra. See below pp. 247ff.

Unlike other narrative texts, venue change is not used as an indication of textual discontinuity since there is no indication of the setting of the prophecy within the narrative framework of the book. The setting (Bethel) is only mentioned incidently in the course of a dialogue (7:13). The main use of change of venue in Amos is to indicate different locations against which the prophecies are directed (Amos 1:3 - 2:16; cf. e.g. Isa 13:1; 15:1; 17:1; Jer 46:2; 47:1; 48:1 and passim). This does not usually indicate a change of location of the prophet himself, though at times different parts of a prophet's message are given at different places (e.g. Ezek 3:12-15, 22-23; 8:1; 11:1 and passim).

In addition to the prophet who is introduced in the heading, a new character is presented in another narrative portion where 'Amaziah, priest of Bethel, sent to Jereboam, king of Israel, to say: ... ' (7:10).<sup>1</sup> This discontinuity of subject marks another section.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the indication of a change of subject by the introduction of a new character as noted already (see p. 238) other subject changes also indicate divisions within the text, though not as noticeably as those just mentioned. These involve the change of person of the verbs used in an oracle. These can <sup>in</sup> involve such changes as from a comment regarding the actions of the speaker (in the first

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1. This personnel change is not marked by a circumstantial clause as are some such discontinuities, e.g. 1:1; cf. pp. 184-185.

2. See Koch, Amos, p. 207, col. 15.

person) followed by an observation concerning others (in the third person , e.g. 4:12-13), or that from a command to Israel to repent (second person; 5:4,6) which is followed by observations concerning Yahweh's person and power which would be the cause for the need for such a change (third person; 5:8) which is in turn followed by an impersonal observation concerning the wicked (third person; 5:10). Often these internal shifts are used when no other division indicator is present.<sup>1</sup> Twice this change of person is emphasised by circumstantial clauses (2:9,10; cf. pp. 184-185 above).

The introduction of the person of Amaziah in 7:10, as well as with that of Amos himself at the beginning of the book (see p. 238 above) is in each case accompanied by a form of the speech-marker (7:10 - <sup>2</sup>לֵאמֹר; 1:2 - וַיֹּאמֶר) which has been shown to mark divisions in other, narrative passages (pp. 211-216 ). (For this and other division markers to be discussed, see Figure 3, pp. 244-246 ). In the section dealing with Amaziah in Amos 7 there are three such speech clauses (7:10, 12 - <sup>14-</sup>וַיֹּצֵא עָמוֹס וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל עֲמִצִּיהוּ, וַיֹּאמֶר עֲמִצִּיהוּ אֶל עָמוֹס). These are typical of dialogue in that the subject and the indirect object of the verb switch places as the two people talk to each other. Each speech-marker unites the following section as being the words of one person, separate from the preceding and following sections (see p. 184 ). Thus, the two new characters introduced in conjunction with speech-markers divide the book into two sections (1:1-7:9; 7:10-17), although the latter part of Amos (8:1-9:15) is united with the first section by style and content.

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1. For further examples, see Appendix H, pp. 403-410.

2. The form 'initial heading + וַיֹּאמֶר + initial oracle' found here is unique in Hebrew prophecy - Wolff, Joel, p. 116.



FIGURE 3

1:2		וַיֹּאמֶר...
3	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
5	<sup>1</sup> יְהוָה:	אָמַר...
6	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
8	<sup>1</sup> אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה:	אָמַר...
9	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
11	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
13	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
15	<sup>1</sup> יְהוָה:	אָמַר...
2:1	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
3	<sup>1</sup> יְהוָה:	אָמַר...
4	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
6	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
11	יְהוָה:	נָאם...
16	יְהוָה:	נָאם...
3:1		שָׁמְעוּ אֶת הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה...
1		לֵאמֹר:
10	יְהוָה...	נָאם...
11	אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה...	לִכֵּן כֹּה אָמַר
12	יְהוָה...	כֹּה אָמַר
13		שָׁמְעוּ וְהַעֲדוּ...
13		נָאם-אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת:
15	יְהוָה:	נָאם...
4:1		שָׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה...
2	אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה בִּקְדָּשׁוֹ...	נִזְכָּע

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1. Nine times at the end of a verse instead of נָאם-יְהוָה. The only other books with this usage are Zeph (1x), Hag (3x), Zech (3x) and Mal (24x); Baumgartel, ZAW 79 (1961), p. 278.

4:3	נאם-... יהוה:	
4	באו... ופשעו...	
5	נאם-אדני יהוה:	
6	...	וגם...
6	נאם-... יהוה:	
7		וגם...
8	נאם-... יהוה:	
9	נאם-... יהוה:	
10	נאם-... יהוה:	
11	נאם-... יהוה:	
12	אעשה-לך ישראל...	לכן כה
5:1		שמעו את הדבר הזה...
3	אדני יהוה...	כי כה-אמר
4	לבית ישראל...	כי כה-אמר
16	יהוה אלהי צבאות אדני...	לכן כה-אמר
17	יהוה: <sup>1</sup>	אמר...
27	יהוה אלהי-צבאות שמו: <sup>1</sup>	אמר...
6:7	לכן עתה...	
8	אדני יהוה בנשו...	נשבע
8	יהוה...	בנפשו נאם-
14	יהוה אלהי הצבאות...	נאם-
7:1	והנה... הראני אדני יהוה	כה
2	והיה כי...	
3	יהוה: <sup>1</sup>	אמר...
4	והנה... הראני אדני יהוה	כה
6	אדני יהוה:	אמר...
7	והנה אדני נצב...	כה הראני

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1. See fn. 1 on p. 244.

Figure 3, continued...

7:8	יהוה אלי...	ויאמר
8		...ואמר...
8	אדני...	...ויאמר
11	עמוס...	כי כה אמר
16	ועתה...	
16		שמע...
17	יהוה...	לכן כה אמר
8:1	והנה...	כה הראני
2		...ויאמר...
2		...ואמר...
2		...ויאמר...
3	נאם-אדני יהוה...	
4		שמעו זאת...
5		לאמר...
7	יהוה בגאן יעקב...	בזכר
9	והיה כיום ההוא...	
11	הנה ימים באים...	
11		נאם-אדני יהוה
13	כיום ההוא...	
9:7		נאם-... יהוה:
8		נאם-... יהוה:
11	כיום ההוא...	
12		נאם-... יהוה עשה זאת:
13	הנה ימים באים...	
13		נאם-... יהוה:
15	יהוה אלהים: <sup>1</sup>	אמר...

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1. See fn. 1 on p. 244.

In the same middle section concerning Amaziah, two speech formulae are used in the course of an utterance to introduce the report of a speech by others (7:15, 16). Seventeen other speeches in Amos are also introduced by similar speech-markers using a form of the verb **אמר**. Thirteen introduce quotations of people cited by others (2:12; 3:9; 4:1; 5:16; 6:10, 13; 7:2, 5, 8; 8:2, 5, 14; 9:10), while the other four are part of the introduction of a proclamation of Yahweh (3:1; 7:8; 8:2; 9:1). Each delimits a smaller component within a larger unit of speech.<sup>1</sup>

In one case a speech introduced by a form of the verb **אמר** is attributed to those who swear (**הנשבעים באשמת שמרון ויאמרו** - 8:14). In three other verses a more straightforward form is used in which a finite form of the verb **נשבע** 'he swore' is used, each time with Yahweh as the subject of the verb (4:2; 6:8; 8:7). The latter are called 'oath formulae' by Wolff,<sup>2</sup> but still function to introduce a new section of speech, much like the speech-marker.

Another speech introduced by a form of the verb **אמר** is described as a 'command' (**ועל-הנביאים צויתם לאמר** - 2:12). The double verb hendiadys is eliminated by using a form of the verb **צוה** in 6:11 (**כי-הנה יהוה מצוה**). Again the verb serves as a division marker.

Immediately following the first short oracle in 1:2, the verb **אמר** occurs again, this time in the phrase **כה אמר יהוה** (1:3). The initial demonstrative adverb **כה** 'thus' is an introduction to what follows, and is

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1. See Richter, Exegese, p. 84 concerning the use of **אמר** in determining the structural form of a passage; cf. Koch, Amos, ad loc.

2. Joel, p. 92; also Koch, Amos.

thus a division marker, separating from the preceding context. The adverb occurs most commonly in this phrase with the verb אמר (1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6; 3:12; cf. אמר - 3:11; 5:16; 7:17; אמר - 5:3, 4; 7:11 - where Amos is the subject of the verb). These introduce an oracle. The subject of each verb except 7:11 is Yahweh. He is also the implicit subject in 7:11 as well, since there Amaziah is crediting a prophecy to Amos (cf. 6:7, which is probably the prophecy referred to), but ultimately it would have originated from Yahweh. The adverb כה is also used with the verb הראה in four verses (7:1, 4, 7; 8:1) and once with the verb עשה (4:12). The former introduce the report of visions from Yahweh,<sup>1</sup> and the latter describes the report of an action which he proposed to perform. In the last case, however, instead of introducing a new section, the adverb appears to refer to what has immediately preceded.<sup>2</sup>

Based on its occurrence in historical contexts, the formula אמר כה has been called a 'messenger (speech) formula'<sup>3</sup> or 'citation formula'.<sup>4</sup> The 'messenger' element is not explicit in this prophetic

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1. Wolff, Joel, p. 294 and passim; Koch, Amos, p. 201 and passim; cf. Jer 24:1; Zech 3:1, although neither use the adverb כה.

2. Wolff, Joel, pp. 214-215.

3. E.g. C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech (London, 1967), pp. 98-115; A.H. van Zyl, 'The Message Formula in the Book of Judges', Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika: Papers Read at the 2nd Meeting (Potschefstroom, 1959), pp. 61-64; J.F. Ross, 'The Prophet as Yahweh's Messenger', Israel's Prophetic Heritage, eds. B.W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (London, 1962), pp. 98-107; THAT II, p. 2; Knierem, 'Amos', p. 169; Wolff, Joel, pp. 135-137; Hoffmann, Tarbiz 46 (1977), p. 169 and n. 31. A discussion of the formula is found in ibid., pp. 169-180.

4. E.g. H.W. Wolff, Das Zitat im Prophetenspruch (München, 1937), p. 10 and passim; A.J. Bjørndalen, 'Zu den Zeitstufen der Zitatformel ... אמר כה im Botenverkehr', ZAW 86 (1974), pp. 393-403.

context, however, since Amos is not stated to have been sent by Yahweh as is the prophet in some other cases (e.g. Isa 6:8-9; Jer 1:4-10; Jon 1:2; Zech 1:3; cf. Hag 1:1, and Mal 1:1 where מלאכי is the same root as the word 'messenger'). Also, neither description of the formula takes into account the other verb (i.e. הראה) used with the same adverb. A better name for the phrase is 'report formula' since that would include all of the forms in which it occurs. This can be modified as being a report concerning a speech or vision. This formula is not restricted to Amos but also occurs in other prophecies as well as historical narratives.<sup>1</sup>

Each occurrence of the simple 'report formula' introduces an oracle<sup>2</sup> or vision. It divides the oracle or vision from its preceding context. One vision is introduced in a different way, however, since in 9:1 (ראיתי את אדני) the introductory adverb is lacking and the verb is in the first person simple stem rather than the third person H-stem,<sup>3</sup> but the verb ראה also marks a division here as it did in the vision report formula, even without the adverb.

All four of the visions headed by the vision report formula and all of the oracles headed by the simple report formula, with the exception of 3:12ff, are not only marked as separate units by the

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1. See Mandelkern, Concordance, pp. 532-533 for references. For the use of this formula and other indications of division in other prophetic texts, see e.g. M. Haran, 'The Literary Structure and Chronological Framework of the Prophecies in Is. XL-XLVIII', VT Sup 9 (1963), pp. 127-155, especially pp. 127-131.

2. Wolff, Joel, p. 136.

3. See Wolff, Joel, p. 95 and n. 35; Koch, Amos, p. 227, col. 4.

formula but also by the panel construction in which they are written.<sup>1</sup> The first eight oracles follow the pattern (1) report formula, (2) formula concerning sins as the reason for judgement,<sup>2</sup> (3) the specific sins, (4) resultant punishment, (5) final oracle report formula<sup>3</sup> (optional).<sup>4</sup> The visions follow the pattern (1) vision report formula, (2) phenomenon seen, (3) request for forgiveness, (4) Yahweh relents. In the fourth vision (8:1-3) the last two elements are replaced by an explicit explanation of the impending judgement. The panel construction itself delimits the oracle or vision concerned.

In addition to the simple report clause introducing oracles, note has already been made of six of these clauses with a preceding conjunction, either לכן (3:11; 5:16; 7:17)<sup>5</sup> or כי (5:3, 4; 7:11; see p. 248 ).<sup>6</sup> Wolff points out that with the exception of 5:4, the formula preceded by one of these conjunctions heads an announcement of punishment.<sup>7</sup> An unwanted future, although not always a punishment, is found when the collocation 'conjunction + report clause' occurs in other books (e.g.

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1. See McEvenue, Style, pp. 14-15 and passim; cf. pp. 199-200.
2. על-שלשה פשעי א ועל-ארבעה לא אשיבנו; see Wolff, Joel, pp. 137-139.
3. אמר יהוה; called a 'concluding messenger formula' by Knierem, 'Amos', p. 169; cf. Wolff, Joel, p. 139.
4. For a discussion of the pattern, see ibid, pp. 135-142.
5. See also 2 Ki 1:4; 19:32; 21:12; Isa 10:24; 28:16; 30:12; 37:33; Jer 5:14 and passim in Jeremiah; Ezek 5:7, 8, 11 and passim in Ezekiel; Mic 2:3; Zech 1:16.
6. See also Josh 7:13; 1 Ki 11:31; 17:14; 2 Ki 3:17; 4:43; 18:31; Isa 8:11 and passim in Isaiah; Jer 4:3 and passim in Jeremiah; Ezek 14:21 and passim in Ezekiel; Hag 2:6; Zech 2:12; 8:14.
7. Joel, p. 136.

Josh 7:13; 1 Ki 11:31; 2 Ki 1:4; Isa 30:12; Jer 5:14 and passim) but this is not always the case since some following oracles concern coming benefit (e.g. 1 Ki 17:14; 2 Ki 3:17; 4:43; 18:31 [said by the king of Assyria]; Isa 10:24; 28:16; 57:15 and passim). The presence of the conjunction cannot therefore be said to indicate that the following section concerns bad news; this appears to be the impression in Amos due to the relative lack of examples.

Both כִּי and כֵּן often indicate a causal relationship between the preceding and following contexts,<sup>1</sup> as <sup>they</sup> do in most of the cases in Amos. The section following 5:16, which concerns judgement, does not appear to have this causal relationship with the preceding verses, which are an exhortation to good (5:14-15). This departure from the normally expected relationship led Wolff to propose a unity of 5:12, 16-17,<sup>2</sup> with others proposing yet other textual reorganisation.<sup>3</sup> While this procedure of positing dislocations is common in OT criticism, it is a form of circular argumentation in which the facts are altered to fit the theory rather than vice versa.

The use of the two conjunctions כִּי and כֵּן uniting the preceding and following sections could show that the 'conjunction + report clause' combination might be a part of the message itself rather than part of the framework. With it, Yahweh reminds his hearers of the identity of the one addressing them, i.e. 'it is Yahweh who is speaking to you'. Whether part of the framework or of the message, the combination serves as a division marker.

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1. BDB, pp. 486-487 sub כִּי I 3 d 'according to such conditions, that being so, therefore'; pp. 47 -47 sub כֵּן 3 'because, since'; cf. also KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 504 sub כִּי; Wolff, Joel, p. 233.

2. Ibid., pp. 231, 233.

3. See Koch, Amos, p. 175, col. 15 for other proposals.



The combination 'כי + report clause' in 5:4 introduces a section with material dealing with different things from the preceding three verses; vv. 1-3 concern death and vv. 4-5 concern life.<sup>1</sup> Here the conjunction indicates emphasis rather than a result,<sup>2</sup> and opens a new oracle.<sup>3</sup>

Two other phrases indicate divisions at the margin of speeches. These are the combinations אמר יהוה<sup>4</sup> and נאם יהוה. The former occurs nine times (1:5, 8, 15; 2:3; 5:17, 27; 7:3, 6; 9:15), and is called by Wolff a 'concluding [messenger] formula'.<sup>5</sup> It only occurs at the end of oracles, and corresponds to the opening report formula,<sup>6</sup> although not every oracle closed by the formula has a corresponding opening formula,<sup>7</sup> and vice versa.<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that even the reports of the visions, which were seen rather than heard, are twice concluded by אמר יהוה, showing a fixed rather than literal use of the formula. In order to preserve this formula in its final position, the visions in 7:2-3 and 5-6 are in the order (A) ואמר, (B) speech, (C) Yahweh's relenting, (B') speech, (A') אמר יהוה with the ordinary order 'speech-marker-speech' reversed, resulting in a chiasm.

נאם יהוה (אדני) יהוה<sup>9</sup> 'oracle of (the Lord) God' occurs twenty-one times in Amos, thirteen times 'in pause', either at the end of a

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1. So Wolff, Joel, p. 232.

2. BDB, p. 472 sub כי d, e; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 448 sub כי I; Williams, Syntax, para. 449.

3. See Wolff, Joel, p. 230, n. bb for other occurrences of כי with this function.

4. See p. 243.

5. Joel, p. 92 and passim.

6. So ibid., p. 139.

7. 5:27; 9:15 do not.

8. 1:9, 11; 2:4; 3:12 do not have the closing formula.

verse<sup>1</sup> or before the athnach.<sup>2</sup> Wolff claims that all of these close a unit, being more emphatic than the simple final speech formula.<sup>3</sup> It does not conclude major oracles, but only smaller sections within them. This is shown by two different things. No 'oracle formula'<sup>4</sup> ends an oracular section headed by a report formula. Also, the non-terminal nature of the formula is shown in 2:11-12:

(11) וְאָקִים מִבְּנֵיכֶם לְנָבִיאִים וּמִבְּחֹרֵיכֶם לְנָזִירִים

הֲאֵן אֵין זֹאת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָעַם יְהוָה:

(12) וְתִשְׁעוּ אֶת-הַנָּזִירִים לֵינָן וְעַל הַנָּבִיאִים

צוֹיָתָם לֵאמֹר לֹא תִגָּב:

The two professional groups discussed are arranged here so to form a chiasm, with a rhetorical question and oracle formula serving as the pivot point. The chiasm shows the unity of the material on both sides of this pivot.

The other occurrences of the oracle formula (except 3:13; see p.123 ) are in the middle of a verse,<sup>5</sup> and thus also in the middle

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9. See pp.121-123 for a discussion of this word used as a heading.

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1. 2:11, 16; 3:15; 4:3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11; 9:8, 12 - with the extended epithet 'Yahweh who does this'.

2. 3:10; 9:7.

3. Joel, p. 92.

4. Called a 'divine oracle formula' by Wolff, ibid. and a 'concluding messenger formula' by Knierem, 'Amos', p. 143.

5. 3:10; 6:14; 8:3, 9, 11; 9:13.

of an oracle. This is clear since the oracle continues on after the formulae. In these instances the formula does not divide between oracles, but appears to serve some other purpose, possibly reiterating the import of the words being spoken.

As notice of words spoken or visions seen divides the text of Amos into units of different sizes, so commands to hear the words have the same function. The imperative of the verb שמע is used six times, three times exhorting attention explicitly to the word or oracle of Yahweh (3:1, 13; 7:16) and three times to 'this (word)' (4:1; 5:1; 8:4) being also the oracle of Yahweh. Wolff calls these a 'proclamation formula',<sup>1</sup> but, while it does indicate the beginning of a proclamation, in form and semantic content it would be better called an 'audience formula', reflecting the exhortation to hear rather than the fact of speaking. Although not always immediately followed by it, the formula is accompanied in each case by an oracle of Yahweh. The initial, introductory character of the formula preceding a new section is not only implicit in the command to perform a new action, but also is also shown by its occurrence with a marginal time reference (the adverb ועתה<sup>241</sup> in 7:16; cf. pp. 240-/) and its immediately following an oracle formula in 3:1 and 4:1. This audience formula also fulfills the same introductory function in other prophetic texts.<sup>2</sup>

Yet another imperative marks a textual division in 4:4 (באו ביה אל ופסעו). This is the beginning of a textual unit which is

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1. Joel, p. 92 and Hosea, p. 66.

2. Isa 1:10; Hos 4:1; 5:1; Mic 1:2; 3:1, 9; 6:1; see Wolff, Hosea, p. 66 and Childs, Introduction, p. 431. See also the discussion by Hoffmann in Tarbiz 46, pp. 158-169. Cf. also שמעו דבר יהוה in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, passim.

closed by an oracle formula as has been commonly recognized.<sup>1</sup> While note has been made by commentators of the imperative,<sup>2</sup> it has not been mentioned that this constitutes a call for a venue change, which would indicate a new section, and is also an exhortation to actions different from those of the preceding context, so it too serves as a division marker. Seven other imperatives also indicate the start of a new section.<sup>3</sup>

Two pericopes (4:6, 7ff), while linked to their preceding context by the adverb וְכֵן, are also separated from the context by the same adverb. As was seen in a discussion of narrative texts (pp. 181-182) the adverb introduces a new section concerning a supplementary action or event to that which was previously under discussion.

As the imperatives call for a response on the part of the audience, so do questions which are used several times in Amos. These statements in the interrogative mood are separated from their context which are in some other mood, whether subjunctive (5:25) or imperative (3:3-5, 6-8)<sup>4</sup>. Two other occurrences are single questions within a narrative framework (7:8; 8:2).

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1. See Koch, Amos, p. 143, col. 15.

2. E.g. Wolff, Joel, p. 218.

3. 5:4, 6, 14, 15, 23; 7:15, 16.

4. These two sections are separated by the different forms of questions - the first section using the interrogative particle אִם and the second not doing so.

Emphasis of a new section is done in several ways in the book of Amos. One of these, the use of a circumstantial clause, has already been noted (p. 243 ). Another method is the occurrence of the emphatic particle הנה, often accompanying another division marker.<sup>1</sup> A similar emphasis, or at least a call to the reader or hearer to pay attention, is the use of הוי 'woe' to open two passages (5:18; 6:1). All of these methods of emphasis alert the reader to some alteration in the flow or aim of the passage. In each occurrence of the particle here and in other prophetic passages, for the word is used only in association with prophecy,<sup>2</sup> a new subject is called upon to listen so the particle is used with one of the discontinuing indicators already discussed (see p. 252 ). The divisions of the entire book of Amos have been schematically arranged in Appendix H (pp. 403-410) to provide a visual presentation of how the book has been separated into its constituent units.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear from this study that units in a prophetic text are indicated on two levels. The first is that of the narrative framework in which the prophecies, be they oracles, visions, etc., are set. These share similar forms of division indication with more strictly narrative passages such as Genesis. These include for the most part indicators of discontinuity. These are the product of scribal or editorial activity subsequent to the initial presentation of the prophecy itself and serve to place the prophecy in its context for use outside of its original utter-

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1. Amos 2:13; 4:13; 9:8 - change of subject; 7:1, 4, 7; 8:1 - vision report formula; 8:11 - temporal discontinuity; 9:10 - follows oracle formula.

2. For other examples see Mandelkern, Concordance, p. 309.

3. Studies have also been undertaken to determine 'how smaller sections group together into larger sections within the book' of Amos, especially with the use of chiasm. See e.g. W.A. Smalley, 'Recursion Patterns and the Sectioning of Amos', Bible Translator 30 (1979), pp. 118-127 (the quotation is from p. 118); Smalley, Amos.

ance or presentation. As in the case of colophons and other such secondary devices, there is no a priori necessity for these framework statements to be significantly distant in time from the original prophecy. They would be expected to be used as soon as the prophecies were committed to writing, or even earlier if they were transmitted orally. There is no reason to rule out their being the work of the prophet himself or his disciples, though they could also be later additions.

A second level of division indicators ~~is~~ ~~those~~ which are found within a prophecy itself and generally involve more grammatical features such as particles, change of person or mood, etc. These can be seen as part of the natural presentation of oral or written material which is internally divided by subject matter, emphasis and the like. This would most probably be the contribution of the prophet himself although even the inner structure of prophecies might have been reworked by a later redactor, although this is very difficult to objectively verify since we do not possess prophetic utterances in different stages of transmission in spite of the attempts of modern scholars to reconstruct these different stages from the existing text.<sup>1</sup>

In his study of the deep and surface structure of discourse, Longacre was not able to formulate an adequate description of prophecy. He initially stated that 'prophecy recounts a series of future events in chronological order and asserts the certainty of their accomplishment. Thus it is in certain respects similar to both surface structure procedural

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1. For examples and brief discussion of different proposals for each of the OT books see Childs, Introduction.

discourse and to the surface structure narrative'.<sup>1</sup> This fits to some extent with the evidence from Amos in that there is some chronological order in the events from present judgement to future restoration and, as has been noted, text sections are related through relative time markers. Longacre's description does not take into account, however, the existence for a call for repentance and realignment of the national and individual life with the will of God which is a major aspect of Israelite prophecy. This approaches what Longacre describes as the hortatory deep structure genre where prescription is of great importance while chronological sequence is not.<sup>2</sup> This accounts for the imperatives and second-person exhortations which are found in Amos and other prophecies. This view of prophecy explains the somewhat different forms used to indicate divisions within this genre (apart from the narrative framework) than those found in narrative and ritual texts. The latter share a chronological orientation to some extent, while the prophecy of Amos, at least, is not presented from this same perspective.

#### 4. EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL DIVISION MARKERS

Since the autographs of none of the OT texts are available

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1. Longacre, Anatomy, p. 206, see n. 3.
2. See ibid., pp. 200-202.

to us, an objectively verifiable statement regarding the relationship between external and internal division markers is not possible. Based on contemporary extra-biblical material and subsequent copies of the Hebrew text, several observations could be made.

Firstly, by the nature of the biblical texts as complex works containing more than one theme or idea, there are divisions within the material based on the content of different passages. Simple receipts or short notes might not contain such discrete units, but none of the OT documents are of this scope and simplicity. If nothing else can be said, these texts must have originally had internal indications of division on the grammatical level as well as indicators of discontinuity. These should probably not be considered the work of the scribe per se, but rather that of an author or editor.

Secondly, extra-biblical and later biblical texts do exhibit external marks of division, which are to be considered to be part of the scribe's contribution. Even the earliest extant copies of Scripture from the Dead Sea indicate divisions roughly corresponding to those found in later texts but also those corresponding to divisions indicated by internal means. While there is not a one-to-one correspondance between external and internal division markers, there is such a correspondance in so many of them that their use together must be accepted. This is confirmed by examples such as the Punic Tariffs where the correspondance between external and internal indicators was extremely close and corresponded accurately with those proposed from internal grounds in Lev 1-7. Thus, while we do not have the material available to present proof, it would appear extremely likely that the autographs of the OT texts as units or even in their possible pre-cononical source stage, would have



included external division indicators which, when used, corresponded fairly accurately to those divisions internally indicated. While there undoubtedly would have been some misplaced external markers, even as there are in the present MT (e.g. Gen 2:4) the close correspondance of internal and external markers in the texts available would suggest a high degree of care and accuracy on the part of the scribes of the OT text as well, since they not only were handling written material which was valuable for its own sake, but also had even the greater value to them of being the basis for their national life, belief and existance.

## CHAPTER III

### Notations

#### A. GLOSSES AND HISTORICAL NOTES

In addition to using different devices to control the physical structure and formal layout of a text, scribes also could incorporate comments on such various details as geography, onomastics, customs, history and philology.

Various aspects of these comments have been discussed by G.R. Driver and J. Weingreen.<sup>1</sup> The latter goes to some length attempting to distinguish between 'glosses' and 'editorial notes'. The former category 'is due to the activity of a copyist who copied in, along with the text, notes on words or phrases', and so is accidental, while the latter category 'is a deliberate insertion and meant to be an integral part of the text'.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear possible, however, to maintain a strict division between these two categories of notes, or even to objectively verify the presence of the latter.

For example, Weingreen cites as examples of editorial notes the aetiologies of Gen 32:33; 12:6 and Josh 4:9.<sup>3</sup> None of these interrupt the flow of thought, a characteristic of a gloss, but rather are an integral part of the text.<sup>4</sup> What Weingreen does not make sufficiently

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1. G.R. Driver, 'Glosses'; Weingreen, JSS 2, pp. 149-162; idem, 'Exposition'; idem, 'Oral Torah and Written Records', Holy Book and Holy Tradition, ed. F.F. Bruce and E.G. Rupp (Manchester, 1968), pp. 54-67; idem, 'The Deuteronomic Legislator - a Proto-Rabbinic Type', Proclamation and Presence, ed. J.I. Durham and J.R. Porter (Richmond, 1970), pp. 76-89; idem, IDBS, pp. 437-438.

2. Weingreen, JSS 2, p. 149; see also 'Exposition', pp. 188-189; IDBS, p. 437.

3. JSS 2, p. 150.

4. Ibid.; cf. IDBS, p. 437.

clear is the method for differentiating an editorial note and a comment by the original author, since many statements concerning an event, person, etc. could equally well be his original contribution, e.g. the references to further sources concerning the reigns of kings in Kings-Chronicles. What the examples cited above do contain, however, is an indication of temporal distancing from the event,<sup>phenomenon,</sup> etc. This type of objectively discernable note will be discussed in section 1 below (pp. 266-275).

There is, on the other hand, not enough clear distinction between an 'editorial note' and a 'gloss' which is 'by nature, a comment on a word or on a collective idea contained in a group of words'.<sup>1</sup> It is not at all clear the actual differences between a comment on a 'word or ... idea' and one on a societal or historical phenomenon. For the purpose of this thesis, both of the categories will be considered as one.

In their studies, both Weingreen and Driver note examples of glosses, but without very clear-cut, qualifiable criteria for determining the presence of a gloss. Both see glosses as interrupting the flow of thought.<sup>2</sup> An example given by Weingreen is found in 1 Sam 2:2 which reads in the MT אין-קדוש כיהוה כי-אין בלתך ואין צור כאלהינו. Drawing support from the LXX and the Dead Sea material,<sup>3</sup> he proposes that the middle clause 'breaks the natural balance of the verse'<sup>4</sup> and is therefore

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1. JSS 2, p. 150.

2. See p. 261 and n. 4 above and Driver, 'Glosses', pp. 128 and passim.

3. A discussion of the use of the versions in the study of glosses is noted on p. 264. See a study of the versions of this verse in P.K. McCarter, 1 Samuel (Garden City, 1980), pp. 68-69.

4. JSS 2, p. 158.

a gloss. Firstly, at the present stage in OT scholarship, the 'natural balance', as well as other aspects of stylistics and poetics, is under a great deal of debate and disagreement. There is no clear consensus concerning poetic forms, rhythm patterns, etc.,<sup>1</sup> so a dogmatic statement concerning structure should be treated with caution. This example/could (p. 262) equally well be explained as an example of chiasmus where two characteristics of God are separated by a climactic statement concerning his uniqueness. This also is relevant to Driver's designating certain text portions as glosses because they do 'violence to the structure', overload the line, are unrhythmical, prosaic, abrupt or intolerably heavy.<sup>2</sup> All of these could be seen as falling into this as yet unsettled area of poetics, and some are subjective to the extreme. Other 'criteria' of this same non-objective type are those in which glosses are designated 'ridiculous or impossible', 'absurd', 'almost meaningless' and 'singularly inept'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The study of Hebrew poetics is vast, but c.f. e.g. N.K. Gottwald, 'Poetry, Hebrew', IDB 3, pp. 829-838 and bibliography; S. Gevirtz, Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel (Chicago, 1963); R.C. Culley, 'Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry', Essays on the Ancient Semitic World, ed. J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford (Toronto, 1970), pp. 12-28; F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (Missoula, 1975); D.K. Stuart, Studies in Early Hebrew Meter (Missoula, 1976); M. Dahood, 'Poetry, Hebrew', IDBS, pp. 669-672 with bibliography; D.N. Freedman, 'Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy', JBL 96 (1977), pp. 11-15 and nn. 14-20; A. Hauser, 'Judges 5: Parataxis in Hebrew Poetry', JBL 99 (1980), pp. 23-41, especially p. 23, n. 1 concerning works on Judges 5.

2. G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', passim.

3. Ibid., pp. 140, 134, 149, and 131 respectively.

Some of Driver's objections to the originality of passages arise because of bad grammar, asyndesis, the use of the paseq or a lack of parallel uses in the OT.<sup>1</sup> As in the case with abbreviations (see pp. 304-335 ), it should be noted that the grammar of the Hebrew OT is not completely understood, due, among other things, to the limited corpus, so none of these suggestions can be said to unambiguously identify a gloss.

Several proposals for recognising glosses are apparently more objective. These include the lack of support for a proposed gloss in the versions, incorrect history and the interruption of the progress of thought within a passage,<sup>2</sup> though even these cannot always be seen as ironclad proofs. While the versions are invaluable in textual criticism for trying to reconstruct earlier readings, the alternatives which they present are only possibilities which do not have any inherent superiority over those presented in the MT. There is still a subjective element in weighing and evaluating the textual evidence which is at hand. The last objection to the originality of a passage could be an example of our expecting too much from the text. No-one is completely logical in their presentation but their thoughts can be led by such things as word or concept associations to other matters. An example of this was seen in including verses directed to the people among the ritual instructions to priests on the basis of key words (Lev 7:19-27; see pp. 36-37 above). The apostle Paul is infamous for this digression (see e.g.

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1. Ibid., pp. 149 and passim, 127 and passim, ibid., and 130 respectively.
2. Ibid., pp. 124 and passim, 145 and passim and 128 and passim respectively.

Ephesians 3:1 which is resumed, after a digression, in 4:1). These, therefore, might not be secondary additions but rather the work of the original author. In each case, the criteria might well indicate that there is in fact a gloss present. This discussion, rather than seeking to discount the possibility of glosses, has sought to urge caution in recognising and accepting them since alternative explanations for the phenomena are available which preserve to a greater extent the integrity of the MT. This holds even for incorrect history. Past experience has shown that statements which were 'unhistorical' at one point, have, through the insight of subsequent historical and archaeological research, been shown to reflect the actual historical reality accurately.

This research will concentrate on those notes or glosses for which there is some sort of objective, verifiable evidence. In original, autograph texts, these at times have some indication which is outside of the written material itself. Examples of this are the use of the Glossenkeil in Akkadian texts<sup>1</sup> or the use of interlinear or marginal writing, sometimes using a different script from the main text body.<sup>2</sup> Not having the original Hebrew documents of the OT, this aid is not available but there are glosses which are indicated by elements within the written text itself. These can be grouped into two broad categories, namely those which indicate a temporal relationship with the context, and those which do not. These two categories will be studied in this order, with the various forms occurring in the Hebrew OT serving as the basis for analysis and comparison.

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1. See pp. 298-300.

2. See e.g. Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 72 and n. 196; J. Krecher, 'Glossen', RLA 3, col. 431-440; *idem*, 'Interlinearbilinguen und sonstige Bilinguentypen', RLA 5, col. 124-128.

## 1. NOTES INDICATING TEMPORAL RELATIONSHIPS

A number of explanatory notes which a scribe appended to a text indicate that some sort of temporal relationship is involved in addition to an explanation of some other relevant point. A common example of this type of note is an aetiology. Another common form of note involves the temporal relationship being made explicit by such adverbs as 'now, previously', etc.

a. AETIOLOGY

One form of historical note found in the OT is the aetiology, which Gunkel, among others, recognized in his commentary on Genesis.<sup>1</sup> 'Aetiology' has been variously defined, with different degrees of specification, starting with Gunkel's general definition of its function as being 'etwas erklaren wollen'.<sup>2</sup> This designation is too broad to be of use in distinguishing aetiology from, for example, ritual instruction which explains cultic procedures. Childs viewed aetiology more specifically as an attempt to explain something in terms of a causal antecedent in some past event.<sup>3</sup> Burrows and Golka went a step further and included

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1. Gunkel, Genesis, pp. XXIII-XXVIII. For a history and critique of the study of this area see Westermann, Forschung, pp. 39-47; Long, Narrative, pp. 1-3; Golka, VT 20 (1970), pp. 90-98; Wilcoxon, 'Narrative', pp. 62, 82-94; Golka, VT 26 (1976), pp. 410-428; idem., VT 27 (1977), pp. 36-47.

2. Genesis, p. XXIII.

3. Childs, JBL 82 (1963), p. 279.

in their definition the idea that the phenomenon explained was present at the time of the writer of the aetiology.<sup>1</sup> The ramifications of the last specification do not appear to have been fully considered, however, especially as regards the historicity of the aetiological material.

Childs made a study of the formula עד היום הזה 'unto this day', which had been taken as a 'sign par excellence of the etiology'.<sup>2</sup> He shows that the formula, which would be expected to be of central importance to aetiologies if they were in fact explanations of phenomena present at the time of the writer, is only secondary to aetiologies and functions instead as a confirmation by the writer of a received tradition.<sup>3</sup> In other words, by using the Hebrew formula the writer is not authenticating the aetiology per se, but rather the fact that the resultant effect is still present, however it might have come about. The lack of primary importance of this formula to aetiologies (it being optional) could indicate that the effect explained in an aetiology does not necessarily remain until the time that the text is written. This does not mean that the effect is never contemporaneous with the writer, but rather that this contem-

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1. Burrows, 'Ancient Israel', p. 104, 'explaining the facts of present experience in terms of their origin'; Golka, VT 26, p. 410, 'texts which explain the origin of existing facts from an action which took place in the past'.

2. JBL 82, p. 280; cf. Burrows, 'Ancient Israel', p. 104.

3. Childs, JBL 82, pp. 279-292.



poraneity is not a prerequisite for an aetiology. Therefore the OT reader is confronted with aetiologies of relevance to the time of the writer or even to his own time (e.g. the holiness of the Sabbath - Gen 2:2-3; the Passover sacrifice - Exod 12:21-28; the division of the two Israelite kingdoms - 1 Ki 12:1-20) as well as those which do not appear to have this relevance. This is especially so in the case of etymological aetiologies in which personal names were given. While place names could remain relevant, as they were shown to do by the use of the above-mentioned formula (e.g. also Gen 26:33b), strictly personal names would have been of less importance to a later generation. In cases where the name explained is that of the founder of a tribe<sup>1</sup> the continuing existence of the tribe until the time of the writer would make the aetiology relevant. There are times, however, when this relevance cannot be shown. For example, Peleg was so named 'because in his days the earth was divided (נִפְלְגָה<sup>2</sup>)' - Gen 10:25. Peleg himself does not appear to have been considered a person of great import since he is only mentioned in conjunction with the genealogy of Noah's sons.<sup>3</sup> The etymology of his name, however, is based on an event of some significance for the writer, but this is the opposite of Burrow and Golka's

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1. E.g. Gen 19:30-38 - Lot's two grandsons by his daughters; 29:31-30:24 - the twelve sons of Jacob.

2. This verb is cognate with the common Semitic root plg/g/k which has the meaning 'to divide into parts' in the verb (DISO, p. 227 sub נִפְלַג<sub>I</sub> for Aramaic and Palmyrene; AHw, p. 813 sub palāku(m); cf. the semantically related palāq/ku(m) 'to slaughter, butcher', AHw, p. 814) and, for the nouns, the semantically related 'half' in Hebrew, Aramaic and Palmyrene (DISO, pp. 227-228 sub נִפְלָא<sub>III</sub>, נִפְלָא), 'district' in Phoenecian and Akkadian (AHw, p. 863 sub pilku(m) I and DISO, p. 228 sub נִפְלָא<sub>V</sub>) and also 'canal' in Aramaic and Akkadian (ibid., p. 228 sub נִפְלָא<sub>IV</sub>; AHw, pp. 815-816 sub palqu(m)). This last usage of the root could indicate that what is meant in Gen 10:25 is division into land sections by irrigation channels or the initiation of irrigation itself. This aetiology has also been interpreted as referring to the events of Gen 11:1-9, e.g. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 702.

3. Gen 11:16, 17, 18, 19; 1 Chr 1:19, 25.

definition of an aetiology, i.e., it is not the current phenomenon which is being explained by a past event, but rather a past phenomenon (i.e. the name Peleg) being explained by a still relevant event. Other personal name aetiologies are given in the OT, some of major figures,<sup>1</sup> and some of more minor people.<sup>2</sup> According to the conventional dating of these passages, none of the figures discussed are contemporary to the final writer or redactor. For this reason, the definition of 'aetiology' cannot include the stipulation of contemporaneity with the writer.

What does not appear to have entered into the discussion is the possibility that the aetiological elements, a relationship between an event and a name or other phenomenon, could have been recognized at the time of the event, or within living memory of it. No-one questions the choice of names in, for example, Mesopotamia being at times based on some historical event such as the birth of a son (e.g. Aššur-aḥ-ēriba, 'Assur brings in a brother', Aššur-aḥ-iddin, 'Assur has given a brother') or a god's help in a particular situation (e.g. Aššur-ēṭir, 'Assur, save', Ilu-ukallanni, 'the god grants me a boon', Nabû-mīt-uballiṭ, 'Nabû revives the dead'). There is no possibility that these are attributions to a person by a later writer since these names are at times used by their bearers in their own inscriptions. Similarly, etymological aetiologies, especially those concerned with an experience at birth,<sup>3</sup> and also those

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1. E.g. Jerubaal - Jdg 6:32; Samuel - 1 Sam 1:20, cf. v. 27; Solomon/Jedidiah - 2 Sam 12:24-25; Naomi/Mara - Ruth 1:20.

2. E.g. Ichabod - 1 Sam 4:19-22; Nabal - 1 Sam 25:25; Jabez - 1 Chr 4:9; Beriah - 1 Chr 7:23.

3. E.g. Ishmael - Gen 16:11; Isaac - Gen 21:3, 6; twelve sons of Jacob - Gen 29:31-30:24.

related to the naming of a particular place,<sup>1</sup> could well have arisen from the actual historical events themselves.<sup>2</sup> Evidence of this contemporary awareness of the meaning of names is shown, for example, by Abigail's reference to Nabal in 1 Sam 25:25. In these cases, the person giving the name, or the one recording the name and its relationship to the event, would have recognized the aetiological relationship involved but would have recorded it as any other historical event.

This argument supports that of the Albright-Bright school against that of Alt and Noth. The latter held that aetiologies generated narratives, i.e., narratives were created to explain existing phenomenon,<sup>3</sup> while the former argued that 'where historical tradition is concerned, not only can it be proved that the aetiological factor is often secondary in the formation of these traditions, it cannot be proved that it is ever primary'.<sup>4</sup> As Childs has shown, the formula 'unto this day', which was previously taken to be a primary indicator of aetiology, is

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1. E.g. three wells - Gen 26:17-22; Taberah - Num 11:1-3.

2. See the statement by D.F. Payne in Genesis One Reconsidered (London: Tyndale, 1964), p. 19, 'the best explanation of present circumstances is presumably the true facts about how they arose'.

3. Alt, 'Josua', pp. 19-20; Mowinckel, Tetrateuch, p. 81; Eissfeldt, Old Testament, pp. 38-39; Noth, Traditions, p. 73.

4. Bright, Israel, p. 91; c.f. W.F. Albright, 'The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology', BASOR 74 (1939), pp. 11-23.

only secondary to the aetiological tradition,<sup>1</sup> which therefore could be much earlier than its final redaction.

The interpretation of the tradition, history and historicity of aetiologies necessarily affects the understanding of the history of the composition of the text. If the need for an aetiology led to the writing of the narratives, the entire aetiological narrative as a unit might have been written at a late date. The evidence of scribal activity would thus be negligible, since the author completed the text. If the aetiology was recognized and recorded at the time of the historical event involved, such secondary additions as 'unto this day' would be evidence of scribal activity. The scribe also could have made the aetiological character of the narrative more explicit by adding such historical notes as the etymological explanations 'therefore they called him X' or 'they called him X because'.<sup>2</sup>

Another point over which the scribe would have exercised control was the placement of the aetiological statement within the narrative framework of the text. The explicit aetiological statement in either of the forms distinguished by Fichtner,<sup>3</sup> is the climax point of the narrative, and usually ends the aetiological narrative. For

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1. Childs, JBL 82, pp. 289-290, cf. p. 2 above. See also Seeligmann, Zion 26 (1961), pp. 141-169 (Hebrew with English summary). For a discussion of the historicity of passages containing aetiologies which lean toward the Albright-Bright school, see Westermann, Promises, pp. 36-44.

2. The two forms of the aetiology as defined by Fichtner, VT 6 (1956), pp. 372-396, especially pp. 378ff.

3. Ibid. The two forms of the statement are given in the last line of the last paragraph above.

example, when Adam recognized the suitability of the woman for him he called her 'woman', 'because from man she was taken' (Gen 2:23). Then the further aetiological explanation of man's separation from his parents and unity with his wife is added (v. 24). The first aetiology closes the text portion concerning Adam's recognition of his wife, while the second, not referring to the naming,<sup>1</sup> closes the entire creation section.<sup>2</sup>

b. TEMPORAL NOTATIONS MARKED BY ADVERBS

i. עתה(ו) '(and) now'

In addition to the aetiological statements and the phrase 'unto this day' other scribal notes record temporal or logical relationships. One such phrase which indicates the development of a situation from some event or events in the past to the time of the writer is the adverb עתה(ו) 'and now'. In three etymological aetiologies it indicates the logical relationship which a parent recognized between a past event and the name of the child. For example, when Isaac names Rehovoth he says 'for now (כי עתה) Yahweh has given us room (הרחיב)' (Gen 26:22).<sup>3</sup> We have already noted the use of this adverb in letters (pp. 240-241) with a different function.

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1. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 314.

2. Cf. ibid., p. 260. See pp. 200-<sup>201</sup>/ above concerning the function of an aetiology as a division marker.

3. See also Gen 29:32 (Reuben), 34 (Levi).

ii. לפנים pāna; 'previously'

Another adverb used in the OT to indicate a temporal relationship is לפנים which indicates some previous time, although not specifying the magnitude of the time interval.<sup>1</sup> In seventeen of its twenty-one occurrences,<sup>2</sup> the adverb is used in some grammatical construction with a note which serves to explain terms,<sup>3</sup> customs,<sup>4</sup> or other historical situations<sup>5</sup> in relation to a previous state of affairs. For example, after the nearest relative of Elimelech had said that he could not redeem his property without jeopardizing his own inheritance, the writer of Ruth adds a historical note saying: (4:7) 'It was thus previously in Israel concerning redemption and exchange, to establish such things: a man drew off his shoe and gave it to his colleague. This was the confirmation in Israel.' The near relative's statement is then resumed. The intrusion of the verse into the course of the story is shown on the grammatical level by the occurrence of this, and each of the notes in which the adverb

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1. See BDB, p. 816 (sub פָּנָה I 6); Campbell, Ruth, pp. 147-148.

2. See Mandelkern, Concordance, p. 954.

3. רָאָה - 1 Sam 9:9; קרית ארבע - Josh 14:15; Jdg 1:10; קרית ספר - Jdg 1:11; לִוּז - Jdg 1:23.

4. Redemption - Ruth 4:7.

5. Demography - Dt 2:10-12 (the Emim and the Hurrians), 20-23 (history of the land of Rephaim); 1 Chr 4:40 (Hamites); previous status or use - Josh 11:10 (Hazor); Neh 13:5 (a large chamber); 1 Chr 9:20 (previous ruler); knowledge - Jdg 3:2; cf. 2 Chr 9:11.

appears, in the form of a circumstantial clause. These break the narrative chain of 1 + prefix conjugation verb.<sup>1</sup> In this and the other cases cited, an explanation of something arising from an altered circumstance was given. The adverb indicates that sufficient time had elapsed so as to make the original situation unclear to the reader. Commentators have seen these as redactional notes.<sup>2</sup>

The same usage is sometimes found for the Akkadian adverb pāna, 'previously', from the same Semitic root.<sup>3</sup> Sennacherib had recorded in one of his inscriptions concerning the digging of a canal: (12) 'I called it "Sîn-ahhē-erība Canal" ... (13) Previously (pāna[ma]) they called that canal "Canal [...]"' (IIIR 14).<sup>4</sup> Here the first person verb in the narrative and the adverb in the note shows that the writer of the note included the note, rather than it being a later addition. This also indicates a historical note explaining altered circumstances.<sup>5</sup>

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1. These are either in the form of a noun clause - Josh 11:10; 14:15; Jdg 1:10, 11, 23; 3:2; Ruth 4:7; 1 Chr 4:40 - or of an inverted verbal clause - Deut 2:10-12, 20-23; 1 Sam 9:9; Neh 13:5; 1 Chr 9:20; 2 Chr 9:11; cf. Andersen, Sentence, p. 77.

2. E.g. Morris, Ruth, p. 305; Noth, Josua, pp. 80, 85; Soggin, Joshua, p. 165; J. Gray, Joshua, p. 248; Burney, Judges, p. 22; S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, pp. 36, 51; von Rad, Deuteronomy, pp. 33, 34, 42; Craigie, Deuteronomy, p. 110; Bertholet, Deuteronomium, p. 8; Batten, Ezra and Nehemiah, p. 288; Curtis, Chronicles, p. 116.

3. AHW, p. 817 (sub pāna), GAG, para. 119 h.

4. See Luckenbill, Annals, p. 79.

5. Altered circumstances indicated by pāna are also found in e.g. OECT 3, 54:8 (cf. Kraus AbB 4, 132; OB); Ee v:109 (see JNES 20 [1961], p. 164); Gilg xi:193; VAB 4, 135:9 (all NB).

### iii. לראשונה 'originally'

In two places in the OT, the adverb לראשונה 'originally' is used to indicate the condition which is explained in the historical note. Both instances concern renaming a place, much like the Sennacherib note above. The form is: 'He called the name of the place Bethel, but (ואולם) Luz was the town's name originally' (Gen 28:19).<sup>1</sup> As well as the disjunction in circumstance indicated by the adverb, the anti-thetical conjunction ואולם is used.<sup>2</sup> Both notes are in the form of nominal clauses, breaking the narrative verbal chain, and thus indicating the disjunction on the syntactic level as well.

All of these notes indicate that some time lapse had occurred between the original event or state and the time that the note was written. While in some cases the note could have been the product of one involved in the original composition of the text, in other cases the note could have been an addition by a later person. In the latter case, the note can be seen as evidence of scribal activity. Unfortunately, at this stage in biblical research there does not appear to be a sufficiently well established, objective method whereby one may determine the relative dating of two texts or text sections. Even less is there a method whereby it is possible to determine the time elapsed between a text and a later note, that is, unless specific chronological data is included in the text itself, which is generally not the case.

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1. Jdg 18:29 - 'they called the town's name Dan, but (ואולם) Laish was the town's name originally (לראשונה)'.  
 2. See Andersen, Sentence, p. 181.



## 2. NOTES WITHOUT TEMPORAL RELATIONSHIPS

Scribes also added notes and glosses to the text which described or explained some point without any important temporal relationship indicated. The two main methods of accomplishing this in Hebrew were the wāw explicativum and the circumstantial clause.

a. WĀW EXPLICATIVUM<sup>1</sup>

The explicative function of the copula ו in Hebrew is well attested.<sup>2</sup> An example noted by others is 1 Sam 17:40, in which, after finding suitable sling-stones, David 'put them in the shepherd's gear (כלי) which he had, that is, in the pouch (ובי־לקוט)<sup>1</sup>. Here the writer is more clearly defining the general word כלי by the more specific ילקוט.<sup>3</sup> Some commentators have explained the 'shepherd's gear' as being a gloss or marginal note to explain the 'pouch'.<sup>4</sup> Even if the word is an insertion, the prefixed ו with בי־לקוט would be contemporary with the addition, and the explicative significance of the ו would still be in evidence. There is no compelling reason to say that 'gear' was added to explain the word ילקוט. An added explanation of the word would have been necessary only after the

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1. A form of this section has already been published as 'Further Examples of the Waw Explicativum', VT 30 (1980), pp. 129-136.

2. See the lexica: W. Gesenius, Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, ed. F. Buhl (15th ed.; Leipzig, 1910), p. 187 (sub ו d), 'und zwar'; BDB, p. 252 (sub ו 1b), 'and in particular ('und zwar'), and that (explicative)'; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248 (sub ו 5), 'und zwar', 'nämlich'; grammars: GK, para. 154 a, n. 1 (b); Williams, Syntax, para. 434; Andersen, Sentence, p. 117. For examples from various commentators, see pp. 279, n. 2 and 280, nn. 1-2.

3. Noted as explicative in Burney, Judges, p. 194.

4. So H.P. Smith, Samuel, p. 164; Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 145, n. a; Stoebe, Samuelis, p. 329.

meaning of ילקוט had been lost to the reader. One would then expect the note of clarification to follow the obscure word, rather than precede it. An interpretation of the ׀ as explicative is more in keeping with the word order. This interpretation of the general being interpreted by the specific allows this text portion to be attributed to one source.

In addition to the use in Hebrew of the wāw explicativum, the same function of the copula is found in other Semitic languages. Two Aramaic examples may be found in Dan 4:10 and 6:29.<sup>1</sup> Also, an Aramaic loan contract from Elephantine, dated to the first half of the fifth cent. BC, has a summarizing explanation headed by ׀. The text reads '(1) You gave me (2) [4 shekels] of silver .... It will accrue (interest) against me (at the rate of) 2 hallūr of silver (3) per shekel of silver per month until the day I repay it [to you]; that is, the interest of the silver will be (וזהיה) (4) [8] hallūr per month'.<sup>2</sup> Here the borrower summarizes the general contractual obligations as regards his own indebtedness with the use of the wāw explicativum.

In Ugaritic texts, two divine names are at times joined by the copula w which apparently serves the same explicative function. Albright noted the common name kṯr wḥss, the god whose tasks were very similar to those of Hiram of Tyre (1 Ki 7; cf. below) in his putting the finishing touches on the palaces of Yam and Baal.<sup>3</sup> The name could be translated 'Kothar who is Hasis'.<sup>4</sup> There are other divine names in Ugaritic with this form in which the w could play the same role,<sup>5</sup> as well as some in Akkadian.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See p. 279, n. 2 and pp. 284-285.

2. AP, no. 11; cf. DISO, p. 69 (sub 1 5) where this explicative sense is noted.

3. See Caquot in TO I, pp. 97-99 for a discussion of this god.

4. W.F. Albright, review of J.R. Kupper, L'iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I<sup>re</sup> dynastie babylonienne in BASOR 164 (1961), p. 36.

Another apparent example of one word explaining another in an Ugaritic text is in a list of sacrifices to various gods (KTU 1.39).<sup>1</sup> Some of these are explained by the sacrifice for which they are to be used, while others are defined by a god's name, apparently the one to whom the sacrifice was offered. In each case just one description of the use of the sacrifice is given, except in one instance - '(3) ... a small animal (4) for Resheph, a small animal for burning, that is, for a peace offering (w šlmm).'. Here a more specific indication is given as to which particular burnt offering is meant. It is of interest to note that in the discussion of the various Hebrew sacrifices in Lev 1-7, only two include the cognate Hebrew verb קרש in their description, the תאמח and the שלמים. This could add support to an identification of the šlmm with the srp in this Ugaritic text.

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5. Other names of this form are: nkl wib (see W. Herrmann, Yarih und Nikkal und der Preis der Kutarāt-Göttinnen [Berlin, 1968], pp. 2-3, 33-34 and references; Aartun, Partikeln II, p. 64 and references in n. 601); qds wamrr (see H.L. Ginsberg, 'Baal's Two Messengers', BASOR 95 [1944], p. 25; Aartun, Partikeln II, p. 64, n. 593); mt wšr (*ibid.*, p. 64, n. 599 and Gibson, Myths, p. 123:8; cf. D. Tsumura, '"A Ugaritic God, MT-W-ŠR, and his Two Weapons" (UT 52:8-11)', UF 6 [1974], pp. 407-413 and N. Wyatt, 'The Identity of Mt wšr', UF 9 [1977], pp. 379-381 and references); ajrt wrhmy (Aartun, Partikeln II, p. 69, n. 666, contra Gibson, Myths, p. 123, n. 10 and TO I, pp. 371, 373); yrh wkša (Ug V, p. 583, 10:6; cf. yrh kty-CTA 34:19, see the corrected reading in KTU 1.39:19; Ug V, p. 595, 14:14; cf. the theophoric ks in Punic [CIS I, 4501:4-5; 5874:3- 'bdks']). See J.C. de Moor, 'The Semitic Pantheon at Ugarit', UF 2 (1970), pp. 187-228, especially pp. 227-228 and UT, para. 8.61.

6. See O. Eissfeldt, 'šlmm wšnm', Kleine Schriften II (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 528-541. For a list of divine names in the form of X u Y, see Kupper, L'iconographie, pp. 57-58; D.O. Edzard, 'Pantheon et Kult in Mari', XV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale: La Civilisation de Mari, J.-R. Kupper, ed. (Paris, 1967), pp. 57, 70; cf. also W.F. Albright's remarks concerning the conjunction marking an apposition in BASOR 164 (1961), p. 36.

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1. This example was suggested to me by G. McConville.

The Greek  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  also performs an explicative function, among its other uses.<sup>1</sup> There are numerous examples of an already recognized occurrence of an explicative  $\iota$  which is rendered in the LXX by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .<sup>2</sup> The translator

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1. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (9th ed.; Oxford, 1948), p. 857 (sub  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  A I 2); cf. also J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek III, Syntax by N. Turner (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 335.

2. Following the verse reference, the occurrence of the proposed  $\iota$  explicativum is given as well as an indication of those who have proposed the explicative function for the verse concerned. Gen 1:14 (וְלִימִים; Speiser, Genesis, p. LXVII); 4:4 (וּמַחֲלֵבָה; GK, para. 154 a; Williams, Syntax, para. 434; BDB, p. 252; Spurrell, Notes, p. 46; Skinner, Genesis, p. 104; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42 [1977], p. 69; Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 385); 38:8 (וְהָקֵם; Andersen, Sentence, p. 117); Exod 27:14 (וְחָמֵשׁ; GK, para. 154 a; Cassuto, Exodus, p. 366); Deut 32:28 (וְאִין; Brongers, ZAW 90 [1978], p. 276); 32:30 (וַיְהוֹה; ibid.); 32:36 (וְדָל; ibid.); 33:23 (וּמֵלֵא; ibid.); Jdg 7:22 (וּבִכַל; Davidson, Syntax, para. 136); 17:3 (וּמִסְכָּה; GK, para. 154 a); 1 Sam 13:7 (וּגִלְעָד; Z. Kallai, 'Judah and Israel: A Study in Israelite Historiography', IEJ 28 (1978), p. 259, n. 27); 2 Sam 3:39 (וּמִשׁוּחַ; Davidson, Syntax, para. 136); 14:5 (וַיִּמָּח; Brongers, ZAW 90, p. 276, though he cited 14:6 in error); 14:14 (וּכְמִים; Wernberg-Møller, JSS 3 [1958], p. 322); 20:14 (וּבֵית; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42, p. 70; NASB); 1 Ki 8:36 (paralleling 2 Chr 6:27, וְעַמָּךְ; Šanda, Könige I, p. 231; Isa 41:17 (וְהִאֲבִינֵנִים; G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 136); 43:14 (וּכְשָׁדִים; G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 128); 59:9 (וְלֹא; Brongers, ZAW 90, p. 277); 59:20 (וּלְשָׁבִי; ibid.); 66:2 (וַיְהִי; ibid.); Zech 9:9 (וְעַל; GK, para. 154 a; Davidson, Syntax, para. 136; BDB, p. 252; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248; Keil, Minor Prophets II, p. 334; Rudolph, Haggai, pp. 177-178; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42, pp. 69-70; Brongers, ZAW 90, p. 277); Mal 1:11 (וּמִנְחָה; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248; Rudolph, Haggai, p. 257); 3:1 (וּמֵלֵא; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42, p. 71); Ps 74:11 (וַיִּמְיֹנֶר; Davidson, Syntax, para. 136; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42, p. 70); 85:9 (וְאֵל; as last verse); 89:38 (וְעַד; Brongers, ZAW 90, p. 277); 100:3 (וּצֹאן; ibid., though he misplaced the explicative  $\iota$  in his translation of the verse); 104:29 (וְאֵל; G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 128); 109:20 (וְהִדְבַּרְתִּים; Brongers, ZAW 90, p. 277); Job 29:24 (וְעַפְרָה; G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 241); Prov. 30:16 (וְעֹצֵר; Dahood, Proverbs, p. 59); Lam 3:26 (וְדוֹמֵם; Davidson, Syntax, para. 136; BDB, p. 252; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248); Dan 1:3 (וְזִמְיוֹ; BDB, p. 252, KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248); 4:10 (וְקִדִּישׁ; Marti, Daniel, p. 29); 8:10 (וּמִיֹּן; BDB, p. 252); Neh 1:10 (וְעַמָּךְ; Šanda, Könige I, p. 231); 1 Chr 5:26 (וְאֶת-רוּחַ; D.J. Wiseman, Notes, p. 12 and n. 21; Myers, I Chronicles, p. 34; Erlandsson, SEA 41-42, p. 71); 21:12 (וְדֹבֵר; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248; Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 144); 24:5 (וְשָׂרִי; suggested to me by H.G. M. Williamson); 28:21 (וְעַמָּךְ; S.R. Driver, Treatise, para. 125 Obs.).

into Greek might simply have translated the Hebrew literally since the Hebrew and Greek explicative conjunctions also share other functions. On the other hand, this translation by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is a possible indication that he recognized the explicative function of the Hebrew  $\text{ו}$ . Sometimes the wāw explicativum is not marked by  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  in the LXX. The  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  simply can be lacking<sup>1</sup> or else the passage is reinterpreted.<sup>2</sup>

Not only does a wāw explicativum relate one word or phrase to another, it fulfils the same explicative function by heading the summary of a more lengthy list. An apparently as yet unnoted example is the list and summary in 1 Ki 7 specifying the bronze work done by Hiram<sup>a</sup> of Tyre for Solomon's Temple. A detailed outline of the production of each piece is given in vv. 15-40, with a summary list of these items

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1. Gen 28:15 (ושמרתיו; Fokkelmann, *Narrative*, p. 61); Exod 24:12 (והתורה; GK, para. 154 a; Cole, *Exodus*, p. 187); 25:12 (ושתי; GK, para. 154 a; Cassuto, *Exodus*, p. 329); Lev 2:13 (ולא; Andersen, *Sentence*, p. 117); 1 Sam 28:3 (ובעירו; GK, para. 154 a; BDB, p. 252; Keil and Delitzsch, *Samuel*, p. 259); 2 Sam 7:11 (ולמין, parallels 1 Chr 17: 10, ולמימים; Wernberg-Møller, *JSS* 3 [1958], p. 322); Isa 17:8 (והאשרים; GK, para. 154 a; G.B. Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII*, p. 301); 32:7 (ובדבר; BDB, p. 252); Isa 42:12 (וזהלתו; Brongers, *ZAW* 90, p. 276); Jer 17:10 (ולתת; GK, para. 154 a); Amos 4:10 (ובאפכם; GK, para. 154 a; Davidson, *Syntax*, para. 136; BDB, p. 252; Wolff, *Joel*, pp. 248-249; Koch, *Amos*, p. 146); Job 34:35 (ודבריו; Brongers, *ZAW* 90, p. 277); Prov 3:12 (וכאב; GK, para. 154 a; BDB, p. 252; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248); Neh 8:13 (ולתסכיל; GK, para. 154 a; Davidson, *Syntax*, para. 136; BDB, p. 252); 2 Chr 5:1; 29:27 (ועל; Davidson, *Syntax*, para. 136; BDB, p. 252; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, p. 470; Kittel, *Chronik*, p. 162; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, p. 298).

2. Jdg 6:25 (ופר; Burney, *Judges*, p. 194); Jer 46:26 (וביד; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, p. 272; Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 305); Ezek 3:15 (ואשר; GK, para. 154 a; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, p. 43); Amos 3:11 (וסכיל; GK, para. 154 a; Davidson, *Syntax*, para. 136; BDB, p. 252; KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 248; Erlandsson, *SEA* 41-42, p. 70); Dan 6:29 (ורבמלכות; D.J. Wiseman, *Notes*, p. 12 and n. 21; Erlandsson, *SEA* 41-42, pp. 71-72); Dan 7:1 (וזהו; suggested to me by C.C. Caragounis); 2 Chr 4:12 (והכתרו; suggested to me by H.G. Williamson). This and the two previous notes are based on Rahlfs's edition of the LXX.

in vv. 41-45a (cf. 2 Chr 4:11-16), concluding (v. 45b) '... and the pots, the shovels, and the basins, that is, all these (MT האהל) implements which Hiram made for King Solomon for the Temple of Yahweh of burnished brass'. The summary list in vv. 41-45a is exhaustive in recounting all the items detailed in vv. 15-40. Therefore, the last clause (v. 45b) could not be an addition to the already complete list of vv. 41-45a. It is rather a summary or description of that list with the wāw explicativum providing the link between the short list and its summary clause. This interpretation does away with the need to delete the ׀ and accusative marker at the head of v. 45b, a suggestion which several commentators have made.<sup>1</sup>

The converse of the preceding situation also occurs, with a general summary followed by a more detailed list which is headed by the wāw explicativum. This explains the text of 2 Sam 15:18, which has variously been emended but could be interpreted in its present form as 'all his servants passed before him, that is, all the Cherithites (וכל) and all the Pelethites ... passed before the king'. This results in a chiasm, with the wāw explicativum serving as the pivot point.

Several other passages are clarified by recognizing the use of an explicative ׀. In Gen 13, Abram recognized that because of the conflict between their herdsmen, he and Lot would also be considered to be involved, even though not taking an active part in the dispute. He says (v. 8): 'Let there not be any dispute between me and you, that is,

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1. So Benzinger, Könige, p. 53; Šanda, Könige I, p. 193; cf. Noth, Könige I, p. 145 where ׀ is said to be 'eine gedankelose Wiederholung der drei vorausgehende w<sup>e</sup>et zu sehen'.

between my herdsmen (ובין רעי) and your herdsmen'.<sup>1</sup> Here again the wāw explicativum marks a more precise definition.

In several other instances, a phrase introduced by an explicative ו defines the previous phrase more clearly, such as the prohibition of eating an animal 'with a divided hoof, that is, with a hoof split (ושוסעת שסע) into two divisions' (Lev 11:3; Deut 14:6).

When Joshua described the mighty acts of Yahweh in aid of Israel, he includes driving out 'all the nations and the Amorites (ואת-האמורי) who dwell in the land' (Jos 24:18). This could be interpreted as an emphasis on the Amorites being a people especially difficult to dispossess (so the NASB). In v. 15, however, Joshua had said that the Israelites were now living in the land of the Amorites, so the ו in v. 18 could again be introducing a more accurate definition of the hyperbole 'all the nations'.

When Isaiah told Ahaz not to fear the two smouldering stubs, these are explained in the poetic parallelism as 'Rezin, and Syria (וארם) and the son of Remaliah' (Isa 7:4). Instead of only two stubs being listed there are three names, but the first two could have been seen as a unit, i.e. 'Rezin and Syria, and the son ...'.<sup>2</sup> The first copula, however, can be better understood as a wāw explicativum, with the nature of the first unit being made more specific as 'Rezin, that is, Aram', with the king representing his nation as 'the son of Remaliah' would represent Israel,

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1. Some commentators interpret the ו as joining two different things, e.g. von Rad, Genesis, p. 170, S.R. Driver, Genesis, p. 152 'and'; Vawter, On Genesis, p. 182 'or', while some could take them as equivalent, although not explicitly stating so, by putting the two halves in apposition, e.g. Procksch, Genesis, p. 102; Gunkel, Genesis, p. 153.

2. So G.B. Gray, Isaiah I-XXVII, p. 118.

though the latter relationship would not need to be explained to the people of Judah. Therefore this phrase contains only the pair of stubs mentioned in the poetic parallel rather than the three as it appears at first.

A similar argument based on the number of items alluded to can support the reading of a wāw explicativum in Josh 22:27. In order to stop the Transjordanian tribes from forgetting Yahweh, an altar was to be built 'not for a burnt-offering and not for an offering (זבח), for it is a witness ... to engage in the service of Yahweh, in his presence, by our burnt-offerings and our offerings (ובזבחינו), that is, by our peace-offerings (ובשלמינו)' (Josh 22:26-27). Commentators have shown by their translation of the ו as 'and' that they interpreted these as three sacrifices in v. 27.<sup>1</sup> In the context, however (v. 26, 28), only the עלה and the זבח are mentioned in conjunction with the altar. It is known from other passages that the זבח שלמים was the compound name for one sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The author could thus again be making the general term זבח more explicit by the term שלמים.<sup>3</sup>

In the laws concerning incest, a wrong is explained by giving its legal designation. In Deut 23:1 the Israelites were told 'a man may not take his father's wife, that is, he may not (ולא) expose his father's skirt'. Deut 27:20 shows that the two clauses in this prohibition

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1. E.g. Keil, Joshua, p. 221; Soggin, Joshua, p. 210.

2. E.g. Lev 3 and passim in the passage; cf. J. Milgrom, 'Sacrifices and Offerings, OT', IDBS, p. 769.

3. This interpretation was suggested to me by G. McConville. Cf. Haran, Temples, p. 61, n. 4 where the זבח and the שלמים are equated.



are equivalent when it says 'cursed is the man who lies with the wife of his father for he has exposed his father's skirt'. Therefore, the explicative ׀ is in order here.<sup>1</sup>

Several commentators have noted the apparent textual error in 1 Chr 8:3 which reads, according to the MT, 'Bela had sons: Addar, and Gera and Abihud'. Rudolph translated the phrase as 'Addar and Gera "the father of Ehud"',<sup>2</sup> which would read the MT אַבִּיהוּד as אַבִּי אַהוּד, with the quiescent א having disappeared. This proposal is strengthened by understanding the ׀ in אַבִּי אַהוּד, upon which the commentators have not remarked, as explicative. It appears likely that there would be an epithet with Gera's name in this verse since there is another Gera, son of Bela, in the same list (v. 5). This ׀ would explain that the first mentioned is 'Gera, that is, the father of Ehud'.<sup>3</sup>

There is one apparent double name in Ugaritic which is of special relevance to Dan 6:29.<sup>4</sup> In KTU 1.14.iv. 201-202, Keret makes a vow

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1. The two clauses have been interpreted as being equivalent statements by e.g. S.R. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 259; C.M. Carmichael, *The Laws of Deuteronomy* (Ithica and London, 1974), pp. 169ff., and *idem.*, 'A Ceremonial Crux: Removing a Man's Sandal as a Female Gesture of Contempt', *JBL* 96 (1977), p. 333. They do not, however, comment on the possible explicative function of the ׀. A. Phillips has proposed an alternative explanation of the verse in 'Uncovering the Father's Skirt', *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 38-43. He holds that in the light of Deut 27:20, 23:1b would be tautologous. Strictly speaking, the same could be said for every example of the ׀ since, by definition, it repeats and explains in different words. He proposes that the two clauses relate to two different prohibitions, one against intercourse with one's mother and the other with one's father, and he looks to Lev 18:7 for support ('the nakedness of your father and the nakedness of your mother you will not uncover'). In the Leviticus passage, however, the two phrases which serve as the verbal object are both governed by one verb, so this part of the verse is syntactically one sentence. This is not the case in Deut 23:1, where two complete clauses are given. The context in which the latter passage is found also speaks against the two halves of the verse being separate laws, since two unrelated, separate laws are not linked by the copula ׀.

by 'athirat of the Tyrians and 'ilat (or 'goddess') of the Sidonians.<sup>1</sup>  
 In KTU 1.6.40, 'athirat and 'ilat are shown, by their poetic parallelism, to refer to the same person.<sup>2</sup> This would thus allow the translation ' 'athirat of the Tyrians, that is, 'ilat of the Sidonians'.<sup>3</sup> This is parallel in form to Dan 6:29, and supports Wiseman's reading of that verse as 'in the reign of Darius, that is, in the reign (וּבְמַלְכוּת) of Cyrus the Persian'.<sup>4</sup> In both texts, one person has different names in association with two different locales (cf. Dan 6:1 where Darius is 'the Mede').<sup>5</sup>

These examples of the wāw explicativum proposed here, and those noted previously by others, indicate that this function of the copula is not rare. It occurs throughout the Old Testament in all the classical source

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2. Rudolph, Chronikbücher, p. 76. Cf. also Kittel, Chronik, pp. 50-51; Curtis and Madsen, Chronicles, p. 158; Michaeli, Chroniques, p. 63.

3. It appears probable that this is the same Ehud, the son of Gera, who was a judge in Jdg 3:15; see Benzinger, Chronik, p. 29; Curtis and Madsen, Chronicles, p. 158; Michaeli, Chroniques, p. 63.

4. See p. 280, n. 2.

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1. Cf. iv. 197-199 where travellers arrive at 'the sanctuary of 'a[thirat] of the Tyrians and at 'ilat (or 'the goddess') (wlilt) of the Sid[on]ians'.

2. See also UT, p. 357, no. 163 where Gordon writes "ilt=Athirat". L. Fisher (UF 3 [1971], p. 27) noted this equivalence when he translated the w in KTU 1.14.198 as 'even', that is, as an explicative.

3. See Aartun, Partikeln II, p. 64, n. 603.

4. D.J. Wiseman, Notes, p. 12 and n. 21.

5. In KTU 1.10.iii.10-11 the explicative ׀ binds a name and an epithet for a person, rather than two alternative names: 'the 'mouth' of the Virgin Anat, that is, the 'mouth' (wp) of the beloved sister [of Baal]'; cf. ii.15-16 where the name and epithet are used in poetic parallel. For a different reading, see Aartun, Partikeln II, p. 67, n. 637.

documents and in various literary genres. Not only is this a phenomenon of Biblical Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> it also occurs in other North-West and East Semitic languages, although no examples have been found in South Semitic. The number of occurrences should warn the textual critic against undue haste in proposing a textual emendation. This interpretation of the copula solves the difficulties encountered while still maintaining the integrity of the MT.

#### b. NOTES HEADED BY A CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE

Explanatory notes in Hebrew are used at times with neither an overt particle such as the wāw explicativum nor an adverb to identify them. The majority of these, however, are marked by a syntactic discontinuity in the regular verbal progression of ʾ + prefix or suffix conjugation verbs. In other words, explanatory or historical notes are often marked by being in the form of a circumstantial clause.<sup>2</sup> This type of note is used to explain geographical terms, personal onomastics, lexical items and customs as well as to supply supplementary information in the text.

##### i. Geography and Personal Onomastics

Geographical notes added to the text either provide an alternative name for a site or else they give another explanatory identification. Often these notes contain an anaphoric pronoun referring to the item concerning which the observation is being made. For example, one of the

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1. The technique is also used in post-biblical Hebrew. Since this is outside of the direct scope of this thesis only one example from the Dead Sea material will be noted. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> xiv:2 the MT reading אל מקומם is expanded with an addition to read אל ארמחם ואל מקומם where the ʾ can be seen as a ʾ explicativum (cf. Weingreen, JSS 2, p. 159, n.2).

2. See G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 124.

kings in Gen 14:2 was המלך בלע היא צער 'the king of Bela (it is Zoar)'.<sup>1</sup>

This is the most common form of historical note. It gives an alternate name for a place<sup>2</sup> or person.<sup>3</sup> These examples do not include cases where the renaming is included as part of the narrative,<sup>4</sup> but only if mention is made of the two

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1. Ehrlich, Randglossen I, p. 54, translates both of these phrases as parenthetical, the first apparently as an explanation of Zeboim and the second of Bela.

2. Gen 14:3 - עמק השדים היא ים המלח; 14:7 - עין משפט היא קדש; 14:17 - קרית ארבע היא חברון (cf. 23:2, Josh 15:54, 20:7 - עמק שוה הוא עמק המלך; the related Gen 35:27, Josh 15:13, 21:11); Gen 23:19, 35:27 - ממרא היא חברון לוז ... היא בית-אל; 35:6, Josh 18:13 - אפרתא היא בית-לחם; 35:19, 48:7 - (cf. Gen 28:19 and p.275 above); Num 33:36 - מדבר-צן הוא קדש; Josh 15:60, 18:14 - (בעלה היא קרית יערים - cf. 15:9); 15:10 - קרית בעל היא קרית יערים (cf. 15:25); 15:49 - הר יערים מצפונה היא כסלון; 19:10 - יבוס היא ירושלם (cf. 15:8, 18:28); 1 Chr 11:4 - קרית סנה היא דבר (ירושלם היא יבוס); 2 Sam 5:7, parallels 1 Chr 11:5 - (עיר דוד היא ציון (cf. 1 Ki 8:1, parallels 2 Chr 5:2 - חצצון תמר היא עין גדי - 2 Chr 20:2

3. Gen 36:1, 8, 19 - עשו הוא אדום; cf. v. 43 - אדום הוא עשו; Esth 2:7 - הדסה היא אסתר בת דדו; 1 Chr 1:27 - אברם הוא אברהם. All of these examples have been noted by commentators.

4. E.g. Abram renamed Abraham - Gen 17:1-9; Sarai renamed Sarah - Gen 17:15-16; Jacob renamed Israel - Gen 32:27-28; Gideon renamed Jerubaal - Jdg 6:25-32; Eliakim renamed Jehoiakim - 2 Ki 23:34; Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, Azariah renamed Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, Abed-nego - Dan 1:6-7; cf. Gen 35:18 - Ben-oni/Benjamin; Ruth 1:20 - Naomi/Mara; 2 Sam 12:24-25 - Solomon/Jedidiah.

names without the history behind them. In addition to these examples of name change, there is a note concerning different terminology used of the same place by different peoples. It is said of Mt Hermon 'Sidonians call Hermon "Shirion" and the Amorites call it "Senir" (Deut 3:9). These notes could serve to show the concurrent use of the two names,<sup>1</sup> possibly indicated by the variable order of the two names. For example the notes concerning Jerusalem are at times 'Zion-city of David' and sometimes the reverse.<sup>2</sup> The notes could also at times show a change of name which occurred over a period of time, the note of the previous name having been drawn from a tradition available to the scribe.

Akkadian texts also show examples of name changes and alternate names. Assyrian kings recorded changing the names of captured towns, but these are usually not recorded in scribal notes but are part of the narrative, such as 'I captured X and I called its name Y'.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the previous name is included in a note (cf. p. 274 above). An example of an observation concerning alternate names is in the record of Sargon's eighth campaign (?14 BC), where the king says that he entered the mountains 'of the land of Lulum, which they call (iqabbūšuni) "the land of Zamūa"' (TCL III:11).<sup>4</sup> Here there

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1. Esther-Hadassah - Esther 2:7; cf also Dan 2:26; 4:5, 16 where a relative clause indicates Daniel's alternate name as Belteshazzar (cf. 1:7).

2. See p. 287, n. 2 above.

3. Numerous first millennium examples are available, for example Sargon II (721-705 BC) who wrote 'Kišēšu, Kindaja, Anzaja, and Bīt-Gabaja which I had captured I made anew. I called their names Kār-Nabû, Kār-Sîn, Kār-Adad, and Kār-Ištar' (Lie Sar. 20:113); see also e.g. Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) - AKA, p. 326:86; Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) - III R 8:34-35; Sargon II - Lie Sar. 7:44; 16:95,100; 44:283; 52 c 1:17 - c 2:1; Sennacherib (704-681 BC) - Luckenbill, *Annals*, pp. 29 ii:27-29; 59:32; 68:15-16; 140:4; Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) - Borger Esarh. Nin. A II:82.

4. For other references to the two places, see Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 228-229, 381-382.

is no indication of a name change through time but rather of the contemporary use of two names. There is no mention of who used the different names, or designations, although it would appear that the first listed was that of the Assyrians.<sup>1</sup> In some texts the alternate name is said to be 'in the vernacular' (ša ina pī uku.meš).<sup>2</sup> Others, however, indicate the nationality or at least the geographical area of those using the other name. These include the people of the land of Lulû,<sup>3</sup> of Na'iri and Kilhi,<sup>4</sup> of Mihranu,<sup>5</sup> the Hittites<sup>6</sup> and the Egyptians.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes even though the nationalities

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1. See also Layard 13: 9—tamtî ša kur kaldi (10) ša id marrat iqabûšini (Shalmaneser II; possibly a local name); TCL III: 188—ana madbari ... ša kur Sangibutu iqabbûšuni (Sargon II; probably Urartian).

2. E.g. Borger Esarh. Frt. F (7) panûa ana kur Makan [...] (8) ša ina pī uku.meš kur Kûsi u kur Muşur i[nambû] (Esarhaddon).

3. AKA, p. 306:34 - Nişir called Kinipa; 322:77 - Tukulti-Aššur-ašbat called Arrakdi (Assurnaširpal II).

4. TCL III, p. 323 - Upper Zab called Elamûnia (Sargon II).

5. Borger Esarh. Klch.: A 28-29; Nin. A III 56-58 - Barnakaja called Pittānu; Sumer 12 (1956), p. 16:17-18 - Til-Aššuri called Pittānu.

6. IIIR 8:36 - Ana-Aššur-utēr-ašbat called Pitru.

7. Borger Esarh. Smlt. 25 - Kār-bēl-mātāti called Saja.

of those involved are not specified, they can be determined from other sources.<sup>1</sup>

Alternate names in Akkadian texts also appear at times to be indicated by the use of conjunctionless apposition. This departure from the norm of Akkadian narrative sentence structure would serve the same function of attracting the reader's attention as does the circumstantial clause in Hebrew (see above p. 274 ). In an account of one of his military campaigns, Esarhaddon wrote usappih ukū.meš kur Mannaja Qutū la sangu 'I routed the people of the land of Manaja, the uncontrollable Qutu'.<sup>2</sup> This could reflect alternative names for the same place, or else it could be the name of the people (Quteans) who occupy the land (Manaja).

In both Hebrew and Akkadian, different names for one person or place are used. These could be due to a change either during the course of time or due to some particular event. Alternatively, they could reflect concurrent use of equivalent names. The change of names is at times described in detail as the main concern of the narrative and does not in itself reflect a scribal note. Sometimes one of the alternate names is presented as a note or explanation of the other. These reflect scribal activity in supplying supplementary information needed by the reader to determine what is meant by an obscure name. The notes can also supply

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1. In Streck Asb., p. 164 Aššurbanipal (668-627 BC) records that (64) 'in the city of Ḫaṭḫariba, whose name is Limmir-iššaku-Aššur, I established kingship'. Ḫaṭḫaribu is known to be the Egyptian Ht-t'-hr-'b[t]; see RLA 4, p. 148.

2. Borger, Esarh. Nin. A III:59; cf. Sumer 12 (1956), p. 16:20-21 where the verb is read as the participle musappih. Some inscriptions contain a note giving the Akkadian equivalent of a Sumerian place name (e.g. Thompson Rep. 98:7 kur mar.tu<sup>ki</sup> glossed ma-at A-mur-re-e) but these will be treated below (pp. 297-298 ).

additional information concerning the location where different names are used. Some of these notes use adverbs or a conjunction to indicate a temporal discontinuity between the use of the two names. In Hebrew in particular, a discontinuity is also shown on the syntactic level by the explanatory note being in the form of a circumstantial clause. This is paralleled to some extent by the conjunctionless apposition in Akkadian. The supplementary information concerning the locations using two names is also presented in a circumstantial clause in Hebrew, but the time discontinuity is not explicit, since this often reflects contemporary use of different names.

Some geographical notes identify more clearly the place named. The majority of these include an anaphoric pronoun referring to the place being explained (cf. p. 286 above). In Num 21:25, for example, the Amorite city of Heshbon, which was captured and occupied by Israel, is mentioned for the first time. It is then explained in detail by the following note which extends for five verses. This note starts with a nominal clause with the anaphoric pronoun ('for as for Heshbon, it was the town of Sihon, the Amorite king'). There then follows a *ḥashn*-poem concerning the destruction of Heshbon (vv. 27-30). This explanatory note is then followed by a summary clause in which the verbal sequence of the narrative is resumed (v. 31 'so Israel settled in the Amorite land') referring back to, and resuming, the taking of the land mentioned in v. 24. This resumption shows that the note is intrusive.<sup>1</sup> Although inserted into the narrative itself, one cannot say when this insertion was made relative to the rest of

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1. See e.g. G.B. Gray, Numbers, p. 299; Noth, Numbers, pp. 161-165.



the text. The author could have called upon traditional material to provide a supplementary explanation, or the note could have been added later.<sup>1</sup>

Similar notes explain the land of Canaan being the land to be inherited by Israel (Num 34:2), and the Casluhim as those from whom the Philistines were descended (Gen 10:14, par. 1 Chr 1:12).<sup>2</sup> Also, one of the Assyrian cities in Gen 10:12 is described in a note as 'that great city' (היא העיר הגדולה).<sup>3</sup> Gen 2:11-14 contains explanatory notes describing the courses of three of the four rivers which flowed from the garden in Eden (vv. 11-12 - Pishon; 13 - Gihon; 14 - Hiddekel). Each is in the form of a nominal clause headed by the demonstrative pronoun היא 'it' referring to the river just named. Not only do these last verses provide examples of explanatory scribal notes, they also appear to indicate the source of the origin of the tradition concerning these rivers. Since these notes would apparently only be needed for places unfamiliar to the reader, the latter, either the recipient of the original text or of the text at a later stage, must have been situated in the vicinity of the Euphrates since that is the only river (פרת) left unexplained, apparently showing that its identity was

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1. See *ibid.*, where vv. 27-30 are called 'an old poem' which was inserted by the editor. See G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 124.

2. This is the one example of a geographical (or demographical) note in which a relative clause (אשר יצאו משם הפלשתים) is used instead of a nominal clause.

3. Commentators have identified the city referred to as Resen (Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 79) or Calah (Kalhu=Nimrud; Speiser, *Genesis*, p. 64; Vawter, *On Genesis*, p. 142) although it probably refers to Niniveh (cf. Procksch, *Genesis*, p. 212; G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 125) since it is the only one of these cities given this designation in the OT (Jonah 3:2).

already known.<sup>1</sup>

A final example of a geographical explanatory note is Num 27:14 where Yahweh, speaking to Moses, refers to 'the waters' in the wilderness of Sin. There follows the note 'these are the waters of Meribah of Qadesh, of the wasteland of Sin' (v. 14). This is an insertion in the form of a nominal circumstantial clause. It immediately precedes a new speech section by Moses. Apparently this is a scribal addition, since Yahweh would not have to give the explanation to Moses, who would have known what was meant by 'the waters'. Later readers would, however, need an explanation.

In both Hebrew and Akkadian, notes are included in the text to more clearly identify a person as well as those identifying a location. In Hebrew, the most common forms of these are the same nominal clause as noted frequently above, often with a preceding anaphoric pronoun, or at times with a repetition of the person's name. An example of a combination of the two forms is the description of Anah as 'he is Anah who found the springs in the wasteland' (Gen 36:24; the parallel 1 Chr 1:40 lacks this explanatory clause). Others identified are Aaron and Moses (Exod 6:26-27), Zur (Num 25:15), Dothan and Abiram<sup>a</sup> (Num 26:9-11), Ish-boshet (2 Sam 2:10), Ahasuerus (Esth 1:1), Yahweh (Ezra 1:3), Ezra (Ezra 7:6), Mesha (1 Chr 2:42), Atarah (1 Chr 2:26), and Jehoshabeat (2 Chr 22:11).

In Akkadian texts, the explanatory note can also be nominal apposition (see p. 290 above). For example, the countries Alzu and Purulumzu are described simply as nāš bilti 'bearers of tribute', with no

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1. See e.g. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 298.

overt markers of the explanatory function.<sup>1</sup> Most commonly, however, the explanatory note is in the form of a relative clause headed by ša. For example, the people of Kasku and Urumu are described as 'who had seized by their force my cities'.<sup>2</sup>

## ii. Lexicon

Scribal notes are also found explaining various lexical items which might have been unclear to the reader. The explanation of the archaic רֵאָה 'seer' by נְבִיא 'prophet' in 1 Sam 9:9, an example of this use, was noted above (p. 273, n. 3). Two different measurements are specified by explaining them relative to other units of measure. After the episode in which Israel was commanded to preserve one omer of mannah in the Ark (Exod 16:32-35) the note is given 'now as for the omer, it is one tenth of an ephah' (v. 36). Also, the temple shekel (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ) is explained as 'twenty gerah is the shekel' (Exod 30:13; Num 3:47; cf. 18:16 - 'it is twenty gerah'). These also are in the form of a nominal circumstantial clause, and have been recognized by commentators to be parenthetical notes.<sup>3</sup>

A number of parallel texts of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC) give/a similar lexical explanation. To commemorate killing two exotic creatures, the king had replicas of them made and stationed on either side of his palace.<sup>4</sup> He describes one of these as (67) nāḫira ša sīsā sa tamti iqabbišuni 'a nāḫiru, which they call a sea-horse'.<sup>5</sup>

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1. AKA, p. 35:65.

2. Ibid., p. 48 ii:102-iii:1.

3. Michaeli, Exode, p. 148; Childs, Exodus, pp. 273, 275, 521; S.R. Driver, Exodus, p. 333; Noth, Exodus, p. 235.

4. Numerous parallel texts are collated by Weidner in AfO 18 (1957-1958), pp. 347-356; cf. also ARI II, pp. 24-29.

5. See also another building inscription of the same king (KAH II 68:24; cf. AfO 18 [1957-8], pp. 343-346; ARI II, pp. 22-24) in which he says 'I killed a nāḫiru, which they call a sea-horse'. See the note on nāḫiru in Weidner, AfO 18, pp. 355-356.

Foreign words are also given an explanatory note showing their translation in some texts. In Esther, the word פֹּר<sup>1</sup> is explained by the Hebrew note 'it is the lot' (Esth 3:7; 9:24).<sup>2</sup> This is similar to those notes introduced by the wāw explicativum in that an unfamiliar word is explained by one which is better understood (see pp.276-277 above).

An explanatory note is also given in explaining three non-Israelite month names in 1 Kings. These include explanations of the name 'Ziw' ('it is the second month'; 1 Ki 6:1),<sup>3</sup> Etanim ('it is the seventh month'; 1 Ki 8:2)<sup>4</sup> and Bul ('it is the eighth month'; 1 Ki 6:38).<sup>5</sup> These do not involve straight translation into the corresponding Hebrew months, i.e. Iyyar, Tišri and Marhešvan respectively, but are rather an explanation of the names. This is the reverse of the notes concerning some of the Hebrew months in the post-exilic books of Esther and Zechariah. In the latter, the month is first given by its number, and then a note is made of its name, e.g. Esth 3:7 'in the first month, that is the month Nisan'; cf. also the third month, Sivan (8:9), the tenth month, Tebet (2:16), the eleventh month, Shevat (Zech 1:7) and the twelfth month, Adar (Esth 3:13; 8:12, 37; 9:1). A similar form of explanation is found in Zech 7:1 where events are said to take place 'on the fourth of the ninth month, in Kislev.' It has been postulated that the Babylonian month names, of which the preceding are examples, were adopted only after the exile,<sup>6</sup> so these notes concerning them could serve as a

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1. For a survey of the study of this word, see C.A. Moore, Esther, pp. XLVI-XLIX; cf. G.R. Driver, 'Glosses', p. 125.

2. See C.A. Moore, Esther, pp. 33, 42.

3. See etymological information in KB<sup>3</sup>, p. 255.

4. Ibid., p. 43.

5. See references to these month names in Phoenician and Aramaic (DISO, p. 111 sub 𐤓𐤓<sup>II</sup>).

6. See Paton, Esther, p. 183; De Vries, IDB I, p. 486. Cf. Kaufman, Influences, pp. 114-115; Gordon and Tur-Sinai, EM 3. col. 39.

reminder to the reader of these new names. One would expect, however, that if this were the reason, the order of note and name would be reversed, as with the three Canaanite names mentioned above with the unfamiliar coming before its explanation.

Elucidation of month names is also found in Aramaic and Akkadian texts. Notes in the Aramaic texts from Elephantine designate the month names which are given in Aramaic by their Egyptian counterpart, corresponding to the explanation of the Canaanite and Babylonian month names noted above (p. 295 ). These are in the form of an appositional nominal clause headed by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun which refers to the Aramaic month name. A representative example is found in a grant of building rights (AP 5). The text starts with the date formula 'on the 18th of Elul, it is the 18th day of Pahons'. This form is not rare in these Egyptian texts.<sup>1</sup> These notes explain the name of the month in the language of the country in which the texts were written. This could have been the legal procedure for the period, since most of the texts in which these formulae occur deal with legal matters.

Alternate month names are also given in one example of an Akkadian inscription of Tiglath-pileser I<sup>2</sup> which says 'the month hibur, which corresponds (ša tarši) to the month Kislev'. This appears to be a closer parallel to some explanatory notes cited above (p. 296 ) in which an older, perhaps more

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1. E.g. AP 6:1-18th of Kislev = 7th of Thot; 8:1-21st of Kislev = 1st of Mesore (cf. 9:1, broken; 13:1) and passim.

2. KAH II, 73'r. 6 - <sup>iti</sup>hi-bur ša tar-ši <sup>iti</sup>gan ud 18<sup>kam</sup>; see Borger, Einleitung I, p. 119; ARI II, p. 29 and n. 144.

unfamiliar name (Hibur) was explained by the more commonly used name (Kislev).<sup>1</sup>

Other foreign lexical items are also explained in Akkadian texts.

In some texts a Sumerogram is translated into Akkadian. These are far too numerous to analyse in depth, but some examples can be given.<sup>2</sup> In Thompson Reports 98 a number of Sumerograms are translated into Akkadian in glosses of smaller letters added below the line. These are: (1) mi ... (2) iti a.an ú.kal u im.dir [...] (3) uš.m[eš ...] li.meš (6) máš.anše (7) kur mar.tu<sup>ki</sup> (r.2) sal. peš<sub>4</sub>.meš, which are glossed as: (1) šalmu (2) arpu zunnu ukala urpati (3) zakka [...] ladi (6) bulli (7) māt amurrē (r.2) erati.

Several texts include a translation into Akkadian of a Sumerian name for a temple, palace or gate. For example, Šamši-Adad I (1813-1781 BC) records how he built (6) é.am.kur.kur.ra (7) é rīm mātātīm 'E-am-kurkurra, "Temple of the Bull of the Mountains"' (Ass 887 and parallels),<sup>3</sup> an exact translation.<sup>4</sup> Most of these notes are in the form of conjunctionless

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1. See RLA 4, p. 479 (sub 'Hubur', 3).

2. See RLA 4, pp. 437-438.

3. KAH I 2. See ARI I, pp. 19-21 for bibliography and translation.

4. See also AO 4628:6-7 in ZA 21 (1908), p. 248 (see ARI I, p. 25 for bibliography and translation): (6) é.ki.si.ga (7) é tukultišu (Šamši-Adad I); é.gal.lugal.šar.ra.kur.kur.ra ekal šar kiš[šat] mātātī 'Egal-lugal-sarra-kurkurra, "Palace of the King of All of the Lands" (KAH II 63 + 71:78; cf. AFO 18 (1957-1958), p. 353; see ARI II, pp. 24-29 for bibliography and translation); AKA, p. 115: 18 - [é.gal.lugal.ub.limmu.b]a é.gal lugal kibrat 4 [ ] 'Egal-lugal-ublimmuba, "Palace of the King of the Four Quarters"' (cf. Borger, Einleitung, p. 132; see ARI II, p. 34); 78 - é.gal.lugal.šar.ra.kur.kur.ra é.gal šar kišš[at] kur[.mes] šumša abbi (Tiglath-pileser I, 1114-1076 BC; see ARI II, pp. 24-30); Luckenbull, Annals, p. 113 viii (6) bād.nig.erim.hu.luḥ.ḥa (7) mugallit zāmāni 'the wall Nig-erim-huluhha, "Frightener of the Enemies"' (Sennacherib); ibid., p. 111 vii (65) bād.ni.gal.bi.kur.kur.ra.šú.šú (66) dūru ša namrirusu nakiri saḥpu, "Wall Whose Terror Overthrows the Enemy". See also references in CAD A, p. 86 (sub abullu 1 e); E, pp. 54-55 (sub ekallu 1 a 6').

appositions similar to the Šamši-Adad inscription above. In one text of Yaḥdun-Lim (1825-1810 BC), however, the Akkadian translation is linked to the Sumerian by a verb: (11) é.gi.ir.za.la.an.ni ibi (12) é tašīlat šamē (13) u eršetim 'E-girzala-an-ki, call "Temple of the Splendour of Heaven and Earth"'.<sup>1</sup>

Grayson has put forward another example of an Akkadian translation of a Sumerian temple name in a different building inscription of Šamši-Adad I (AAA 19 [1932], pl. LXXXI)<sup>2</sup> (ii:18) é.ki.dūr.kù.ga (19) huruš niširtiša (20) šumšu abbi which he translated 'I ... named it Ekidurkuga, "The Storehouse of Her Treasure"'. This, however, is not the reading of the Sumerian, which in Akkadian would be bītu šubtu ellutu 'Temple, holy dwelling'.<sup>3</sup> Instead of the Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian, as proposed by Grayson, it appears better to interpret this as a further description of the temple which was included in its name.<sup>4</sup>

Words other than those with geographical significance are also translated in a similar way. In three texts from el-Amarna and one from Ugarit the Sumerogram izi, followed<sup>at times</sup> by a glossenkeil,<sup>5</sup> is translated by the Akkadian išātu 'fire'.<sup>6</sup> In numerous other texts from el-Amarna a West Semitic trans-

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1. Syria 32 (1970), p. 9; see Sollberger, Inscriptions royales, p. 247.

2. See ARI I, pp. 22-24; Borger, Einleitung I, pp. 9-10.

3. Cf. RAcc. 28:29 - šubta elleti.

4. See Borger, Einleitung I, p. 10 - "'Ekidurkuga, die Vorratskammer ihres Schatzes" nannte ich ihn.'

5. See above p. 265.

6. EA 185:19, 32 (i[z]i iṣāti; Winckler, Thontafelfund, p. 189; cf. Artzi, Bar Ilan 1 [1963], p. 43); EA 189:12 (iṣi.meš eṣāte; Winckler, Thontafelfund, 142); 306:32 (iṣi.meš iṣāti; cf. Bezold, El-Amarna, 40); RS 16.111:12 (iṣi iṣāti; Nougayrol, MRS 6, pl. XL). See the other examples cited in Bar Ilan 1 (1963), pp. 42-43.

lation is given for an Akkadian word. The translation is preceded by a Glossenkeil.<sup>1</sup> These words include nouns such as 'ship' - giš<sup>ma</sup> (אניה; EA 245:28),<sup>2</sup> verbs like 'cultivate' - errišu (חרש; EA 226:11; 365:11)<sup>3</sup> and adverbs, e.g. 'after' - egir-šu (אחרי; EA 245:10).

In other Akkadian texts, the Akkadian equivalents for foreign words from other places such as Ahlamu, Amurru, Elam, Gutium, Hatti, Kassu, Kinahi, Kutmuhi,

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1. See Artzi, Bar Ilan (1963), pp. 43-48.

2. See also 'dust' - saḥar(.ra) (עפר; EA 141:4; 364:8; cf. saḥar (ebiri - EA 136:3; saḥar.meš (ipri - EA 195:5; saḥar.ra (ḥaparu - EA 143:11); 'belly' - pande (batnuma (בטן; EA 232:10); 'back' - sēruma (zuḥuma (צואר; ibid:11); 'Habiru' - Iḡgaz.meš (ḥa[biru] (עברי; EA 207:21); 'living (thing)' - tīl.la nu-umma (ḥaiama (חיים; EA 245:6); 'mountain' - hur.sag (harri (הר; EA 74:19-20); 'eyes' - igi-ia (ḥinaia (עיניים; EA 144:17); 'yoke' - gišniri (ḥullu (חול; EA 296:38); 'wall' - baḍ-šu (ḥumitu (חומה; EA 141:44); 'trap' - ḥuḥari (kilubi (כלב; EA 74:46; 79:36; 81:35; 105:9; 116:18); 'brick' - sig (lābitu (לבנה; EA 266:19 [broken] - 20; 296:17-18; kitu(gada<sup>mes</sup>) (malbasi (מלבש; EA 369:9 [Rainey, Tablets, pp. 36, 70]; 'place' - kislah (maškan[atika] (משכן; EA 306:17; cf. Na'aman, UF 11 [1979], p. 680, n. 34) 'water' - a(.mes) (mīma (מים; EA 146:20; 155:10); 'copper' - urudu (nuḥuštum (נחשה; EA 69:27-28); 'mouth' - ka (pī (פה; EA 79:12; 145:9; 195:22-23); 'counsellor' - maškim (rābiš (רבץ; EA 321:15); 'commissioner' - rābiši (sukini (סכן; EA 256:9; cf. 362:69 [Rainey, Tablets, p. 18] where no glossenkeil is used); 'head' - sag.du-nu (rūšunu (ראש; EA 264:18); 'horse' - anše(!?)meš (sū[sima] (סוס; EA 263:25; a defective writing [or possibly an abbreviation; cf. p. 309 below] of anše.kur.ra.meš); 'heaven' - an (šamūma (שמים; EA 211:17; 264:16); 'gate' - abulli (saḥri (שער; EA 244:16); 'calumny' - qarzia (širti (שאר; EA 252:14); pāti(zag)-ši (upsihi (אפסה; EA 366:34 [Rainey, Tablets, pp. 75, 85; Finkelstein, EI 9, p. 33]) 'sheep' - udu.udu.meš (zūnu (צאן; EA 263:2); 'arm' - šu (zuruḥ (זרוע; EA 287:27).

3. See also 'call out' - innerirmū (naz'aqū (נאק; EA 366:24 [Rainey, Tablets, p. 30; cf. p. 74 sub naz'aqū]; see J.J. Finkelstein, 'Three Amarna Notes', EI 9 (1969), p. 33); 'vex' - tašaš (naqšapu (קצץ; EA 82:50-51; cf. 93:4 [at]tašaš anaku (5) [n]aḥšapu; see Held, JCS 15 [1961], p. 23); 'go out' - yiḡimni (yazinu (יצא; EA 282:13-14; see Campbell, 'Amarna Notes', p. 48); 'strike' - g[az<sup>m</sup>]<sup>es</sup> (miḥiṣā (מחץ; EA 335:9, cf. reconstruction by Na'aman, UF 11, pp. 677-678), see also dākušu (maḥsū (מח; EA 245:14; cf. gaz dēka in EA 288:41, 45, so Na'aman, UF 11, p. 678); ba.ug<sub>5</sub> (mūtumi (מות; EA 362:27, cf. 1.11 where ba.ug<sub>4</sub> is glossed nimut (נמות) without the glossenkeil).



Lulubu, Marratam, Meluhhi, and Šubartu.<sup>1</sup>

Explanatory translation notes are also found in Aramaic texts. These are similar in form to the Hebrew examples mentioned above (pp. 294-295) in that they too have an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun referring back to the word being explained. In one such note, the language of the translated word is given. In the stipulations of a will there is reference to the part of his house which a man is giving to his daughter (BP 9). Among these is (4) 'half of the court, that is, half of the entryway (חתי; t3- hyt) in Egyptian'.<sup>2</sup> The same Aramaic word is explained by the Akkadian bābu 'gate' in BP 10:3.<sup>3</sup> Other architectural terms are also explained in these two texts.<sup>4</sup>

Another interesting example has been proposed by Kitchen as an explanation of the Egyptian name given to Joseph in Gen 41:45.<sup>5</sup> Rather than the expected Hebrew translation or explanation of a foreign word, Kitchen proposes that the name צפנת פענח, which was bestowed on Joseph, is an equivalent Egyptian note to those discussed, i.e. '(Joseph) who is called Ip'ankh' (Egyptian dd-n.f 'Ip-ḥḥ). The expression dd-n.f is noted by Kitchen

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1. See C. Frank, 'Fremdsprachliche Glossen in assyrischen Listen und Vokabularen', MAOG 4 (1928-1929), pp. 35-45 for examples and discussion.

2. See DAE, p. 243 and n. d; also BP 9:13-14 in which the order is reversed

3. ותרנצתו ובה; see DAE, p. 248 and n. b.

4. BP 9:9 - הנפנא זי בנהו מצריא הו תמואנתי, 'the avenue [Persian, hnpn'] which the Egyptians built, it is the tmw'nty [probably Egyptian]'; 10:3 - הו תרי דסי ודשן 3, see DAE, p. 248 and n. a for a translation and a discussion.

5. The Illustrated Bible Dictionary (Leicester, 1980), p. 1673.

as being commonly employed to introduce a second name.<sup>1</sup>

### iii. Customs

In some texts an author or a later scribe felt the necessity to explain an obscure or forgotten social custom. In Esther, three different characteristics of life in the Persian court are given explanatory notes. When Ahasuerus consults his counsellors in Esth 1:13 it is 'because this was the king's way...'. When the young women were to be presented to the king, they had to be prepared for twelve months previously 'according to the regulation concerning women, since it is how they fulfilled their softening, six months with myrrh oil and six months with perfumes and emollients for women' (Esth 2:12). Also, in 8:8, the king was told that he could make and seal any decree concerning the Jews which he desired 'for a decree which is written in the king's name and sealed with his signet ring is not to be retracted'. This could be part of the statement of the men who were trying to persuade the king to do away with the Jews, but it does not appear necessary for them to have to explain the custom of royal decrees to him. It would appear more likely that this note was added to explain the situation to later readers of this account. Since this book is set in a foreign country, some of the practices of which could be obscure to the greater Jewish audience of the book, these explanatory notes would be appropriate.

### iv. Supplementary information

There are a number of notes in the OT which provide supplementary information concerning matters of history or background information concerning the narrative. In a list of names of towns built by the Reubenites are

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1. Ibid. See ANET, p. 553 for an example of an Egyptian text where there are numerous examples of Egyptian names being given to Asiatics serving in Egyptian households, an exact parallel to Joseph's situation.

included 'Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo and Baal-meon, changed names (מוֹסְבֵּת שָׁם) and Sibmah' (Num 32:37-38). The next clause indicates that the Reubenites named the cities which they built (v. 38b). Commentators have taken this note to be a later gloss to explain the names Nebo and Baal-meon as being unsuitable to record, since they name pagan deities.<sup>1</sup> The participle (מוֹסְבֵּת) is in the plural form and so could refer to several of the preceding names. Another possibility is that this note indicates that some of these towns were rebuilt and the original name was changed by the Israelites. Other such notes supply supplementary information concerning Og (Deut 3:11),<sup>2</sup> Bashan (vv. 13-14),<sup>3</sup> and the reason the Israelite soldiers had gold to offer to Yahweh (Num 31:53).<sup>4</sup>

Similar notes are found also in Akkadian texts, such as the observation concerning the foreign trees which Tiglath-pileser I brought back

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1. See G.B. Gray, Numbers, p. 437; Elliott-Binns, Numbers, p. 214.

2. 3:10 ... 'the towns of the realm of Og in Bashan (11) (for only Og, king of Bashan, remained from among the rest of the Rephaim. His bed is an iron bed - is it not in Rabbah of the Ammonites? Its length is 9 cubits and its width, 4 cubits by the popular cubit.) (12) We inherited that land ...'. The additional information is shown to be intrusive and parenthetical by the resumption in v. 12 of the matter of 'that' (הַזֹּאת) land being discussed in v. 10.

3. 3:13 'the rest of Gilead and all of Bashan, the realm of Og, I gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh, all of the area of Argob (all of that Bashan is called 'Land of the Rephaim. (14) Jair, the Manassite took the entire area of Argob as far as the Geshurite and Maacite border. He called them, Bashan, by his name, "Havoth-Jair until this day)." The last phrase has been shown by Childs to be secondary (JBL 82, pp. 279-292; cf. p. 267 above), supporting the interpretation of these verses also being parenthetical.

4. As part of the division of spoils of war between the military and the civilians, Moses and Eleazer gathered the booty (Num 31:51) 'and Moses and Eleazer the priest took the gold from them, all of the wrought work.... (53) (Now as for the military, each man had despoiled for himself).' The form of v. 53 as a circumstantial clause and the resumption of the action in v. 51 by the same clause in v. 53, i.e. וַיִּקַּח מֹשֶׁה וְאֶלְעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת-הַזָּהָב מֵהֶם indicates that this verse is also a parenthetical intrusion.

from his campaigns; 'those (trees) which no-one had planted during the reign of my fathers before me' (AKA, p. 91:20-22).<sup>1</sup>




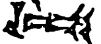
Explanatory notes though common in the OT, are also found in Akkadian and Aramaic texts. Their form is usually that of a circumstantial clause, either with verb-subject inversion or simply as a nominal clause, although at times a relative clause is used, the latter being a type of inversion. The notes are thus shown to be distinct from the context in which they occur by breaking the ordinary narrative verbal chain. They are also at times shown to be intrusive because the following context resumes that which precedes the note as if nothing had intervened. Some notes are marked by adverbs or conjunctions which indicate an interval of time between the events recorded in the text and that referred to in the note. These could have been added to an existing text by a later scribe who drew from traditional sources or from his own experience. They could, however, have been added by the original writer of the text itself, as is shown by some notes in texts of which we have the autographs, such as the Assyrian royal inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Mesopotamian kings found it desirable to explain outdated or obscure terms and places to their contemporary audience is a strong argument that OT writers could have felt free to do the same. There is therefore no compelling reason to claim that explanatory notes per se are necessarily late additions (though some could well be) or that they are historically unreliable.

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1. This type of supplementary note is extremely common and only a small number of examples will be given here: YOS 9, 70:7-13, supplementary information concerning two temples (Shamshi Adad I, 1813-1781 BC); IAK xvii, 1:12-13, 19-20, information concerning a well (Ashur-Uballit I, 1365-1330 BC); IAK xxi, 14:7-8, concerning a shrine (Shalmaneser I; 1274-1245 BC).

2. E.g. the examples noted above, pp. 294-298.

## B. ABBREVIATIONS

'To Abbreviate' is defined as 'to shorten by cutting off a part' and 'to contract so that a part stands for the whole'.<sup>1</sup> The use of abbreviations in Semitic texts is quite similar to those in western texts with which we are more familiar, namely, according to G.R. Driver, as a 'method of enabling a text to be written in a space which is too small for it (e.g. in the legend on a seal, a coin or a weight) and of lightening the burden of copying long works in which, for example, recurring words or phrases may be written in a shortened form easily understood by the reader'.<sup>2</sup> The original, unabbreviated form, can range from a single, complex sign to a longer literary portion such as a verse or even an entire work. On the one extreme are two examples proposed by Neugebauer where a simple sign (i.e.  bar and  sig) stand for more complex ones (i.e.  bár 'Nisan' and  sig<sub>u</sub> 'Simanu' respectively).<sup>3</sup> In the Talmud and the Cairo Genizah fragments an initial word or letter is at times used to represent a whole verse.<sup>4</sup> Also fitting into our definition are text descriptions, especially incipits (see Chapter II) which represent a longer form, e.g. an incantation, epic or even a series, by a shortened form. Very common also were abbreviations of single words.

Abbreviations in the majority of cases would have been restricted to written material and would fall within the purview of scribal technique.

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1. OED 1, p. 12 sub 'Abbreviate' 3 and 3.d. respectively.
2. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 112.
3. JCS 1 (1947), p. 217; see Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 66.
4. Yoma 38a; see Lehmann, EJ 2, p. 47; Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 57, n. 152.

One common form of abbreviation, the hypocoristica, or shortened personal names, while also occurring in written texts, would have generally arisen in speech,<sup>1</sup> being written only secondarily, so hypocoristic names will not be an area of study in this thesis.

The first serious synthetic study of abbreviations in the MT was undertaken by G.R. Driver.<sup>2</sup> In his study he started by examining abbreviations from other Semitic languages, i.e. Aramaic, Phoenician/Punic, Sabaeen, Himyaritic, Akkadian and Ugaritic, as well as those in early, extra-biblical Hebrew before turning to those found in the MT. It is proposed here to follow the same pattern. Firstly, non-biblical Semitic texts will be studied to determine the genres of literature in which abbreviations found are used as well as their form, frequency and function. Only after this has been done in relation to these texts, many of which are autographs, or at least early copies, will we turn to the abbreviations which have been proposed for Hebrew OT in order to compare them with those found in other texts. This section will not, therefore, be so much a presentation of new abbreviations, but rather a critique of earlier suggestions as well as of the methodology used in identifying abbreviations.

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1. Benz, Personal Names, p. 253, n. 78.

2. Textus 1 (1960), pp. 112-131; Textus 4 (1964), pp. 76-94. For previous works on the subject, see those cited in Textus 1, pp. 112, n. 1; 125, n. 43; Textus 4, p. 77, n. 1. More recently see Fishbane, IDBS, pp. 3-4 sub 'Abbreviations, Hebrew Texts'.

## 1. TYPES AND USES OF ABBREVIATIONS

The terminology used to identify the various kinds of abbreviations in Hebrew was coined by the early Hebrew philologists, the rabbis, and are used in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The initial letter(s) of a word or phrase, being similar to our acronyms, are called notarikon. This is discussed in the Mishnah where writing as much as two letters is the violation of the Sabbath (Sab. 12:3).<sup>1</sup> Examples are recorded in Ma'asar Sheni 4:11 and the Tosefta tractate Ber. 7:20.<sup>2</sup> This type of abbreviation will constitute the main part of this study. Related to the notarikon is a form by which an initial word or letters stood for an entire biblical verse. This was called serugin and was a later innovation.<sup>3</sup> A derivative form of abbreviation is one for which a numerical value was assigned to each letter. At a simple level, numbers could be written using letters rather than by some other form. Later this developed so that the sums of the values of different words were used in an esoteric system called gematria.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 'He is culpable that writes two letters .... R. Jose said: They have declared culpable the writing of two letters only be reason of their use as a mark; for so used they to write on the boards of the Tabernacle that they might know which adjoined which. Rabbi said: We find a short name from a longer name: Shem from Shimeon or Shemuel, Noah from Nahor, Dan from Daniel, Gad for Gadiel.' Danby, Mishnah, p. 111; cf. 12:5 - 'If he wrote one letter as an abbreviations, ... [he is] culpable', ibid., p. 112.

2. Ma'asar Sheni 4:11 - ק for קרבן; מ for מעשר; ד for דמי; ט for טבל; ת for תרומה, Ber. 7:20 - 'He that opens with יה and closes with יה - behold, this is a wise man; with the כ but not with ד and closes with יה - behold, this is a middling man ...'.

3. Used in the Cairo Geniza fragments; see Lehmann, EJ 2, p. 47.

4. See G.R. Driver, Scrolls, p. 336.

There are several other forms of abbreviations which are possible using linguistic signs. A form of the notarikon could use some letter(s) other than the first to abbreviate a name. An English form of this is 'Mr.' in which the first and last letters are used. This type is found especially in Phoenician (see p. 324 and n.18) and also possibly in Sumerian and Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> Another possibility would be to use letter(s) unrelated to the overt form of the word being abbreviated, corresponding to the abbreviation 'lb.' for 'pound'. This type of abbreviation is rare or non-existent in the languages under discussion.

Yet another form of abbreviation which is used in extra-biblical texts is a symbol representing a word or concept. Probably the most common form of these is a cipher representing a number, e.g. 1 for 'one' or 𐎶 for 1,60,60<sup>2</sup>, 1/60, 1/3600 in Akkadian.<sup>2</sup> These, by their nature, usually only have an arbitrary relationship with the word or concept which they represent, although in some cases they could be the vestiges of a pictorial representation, e.g. /, //, ///, etc. as tally marks for one, two or three items. The symbols used in one language could also have derived from a second language which had some influence on the first. This is true, for example, in the use of hieratic symbols in some Hebrew texts from the OT period.<sup>3</sup>

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1. So Civil in MSL XII, p. 203 proposing abbreviations formed from the first two syllables and last vowel of a word; see also Lieberman, Loanwords, pp. 95-96 and 168, 'Ba-la-i'.

2. For the last example, see Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 180.

3. See below, Appendix I, passim.



## a. NON-BIBLICAL ABBREVIATIONS

As already mentioned, some texts use the beginning letter(s) or sign(s) of a word as an abbreviation. A number of cases of this in Aramaic, Hebrew and other W Semitic languages will be presented below. Also presented will be cases where the initial and some subsequent but non-sequential letter is used. The use of such abbreviations in Akkadian is somewhat complicated by the adaptation of the Akkadian writing system from Sumerian. This causes problems since one sign can at times be interpreted as a logogram giving the Sumerian equivalent of an Akkadian word, or as an Akkadian syllable.

According to the definitions discussed above, one would have to reckon logograms among abbreviations in Akkadian texts, and symbolic representations at that, since they are signs borrowed from one language to represent a whole word or concept in another. There is also the further complication that the sign might not have been read as a logogram at all but rather as a phonetic, syllable value. For example, the NA sign ~~𒂗~~ could be read as the logogram lugal or as the Akkadian šar. If read syllabically, the sign could be an abbreviation for the fuller šarru if a grammatical form other than a genitive, construct form is required by the syntax.

## 1. Akkadian and Ugaritic

While an exhaustive study of Akkadian abbreviations would be invaluable, such a task lies outside the scope of this thesis. Included here, however, is a list of some abbreviations to show the various forms and genres in which they occur in Akkadian literature. For ease of reference, these are presented in tabular form in columns corresponding to:

- I      The abbreviated form, with a footnote indicating texts using this abbreviation;
- II     Proposed original form, with a reference to proponents of this restoration;

- III Date of the texts in which the abbreviation is used;  
 IV Genre of the relevant texts;  
 V Other comments.

I	II	III	IV	V
a <sup>1</sup>	<u>atar</u> <sup>2</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
<u>aka</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>akaššad</u> <sup>4</sup>	OB	Letter (economic)	Note 1
<sup>1</sup> an <sup>5</sup>	<sup>1</sup> anti'kusu <sup>6</sup>	Sel	King list	
an <sup>7</sup>	<sup>d</sup> <u>salbatani</u> <sup>8</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
anše.kur <sup>9</sup>	anše.kur.ra <sup>10</sup>	MB-NA	Legal; letters	

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1. TCL VI, 28 passim; other examples in Neugebauer ACT, p. 471 sub dirig.
2. Neugebauer, JCS 1 (1947), p. 217; Gelb, BiOr 15, p. 37.
3. CT 52, 116:29
4. AbB 7, p. 96, n. 116 c.
5. Iraq 16 (1954), pl. LIII: 10,11,13, r.2, 4(?),5,7,10,11-14.
6. Wiseman in ibid., pp. 206-207; Grayson in ABC, pp. 99-100, 126. Other shortened names are found in this king list (i.e. 'si for 'siluku, ll. 8,9, r.1(?),8,9, cf. 1.6 where it is given in full; cf. Wiseman in Iraq 16, pp. 205-208; Grayson in ABC, p. 99; 'di for 'dimitriaš, lc:1; see ibid., p. 98; Wiseman, Iraq 16, p. 209; 'alik for 'aliksandar, .l. 5, cf. ll. 1-2, 5 for the name in full; see ibid., p. 205; Grayson, ABC pp. 99-126) as well as other sources. These include the Babylonian King List A (CT 36, 24-25, passim, see A.K. Grayson, 'Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments', lišan mithurti ed. M. Dietrich [Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969], p. 107, n. 9; idem, RLA 6, pp. 91-93), ABC 1, 22 and passim, especially in NA inscriptions.
7. Neugebauer ACT 501, iii passim; 811a:24, 33; TCL VI, 27, iii passim.
8. Ibid., pp. 390, 469; idem., JCS 1, p. 218.
9. EA 263:25.
10. NA usage noted without examples by von Soden, AHw, p. 1052 sub sisû(m); Knudtzon, EA, p. 825.

I	II	III	IV	V
ar <sup>1</sup> (kur) <sub>aš</sub> (ki) <sup>2</sup>	<u>arki</u> kur <sub>aššur</sub> ki <sup>3</sup>	Sel MA <sup>4</sup> -NA	Astronomical  Royal inscriptions; letters; legal	Sometimes also for d <sub>aššur</sub> . <sup>5</sup> Note 2
bat <sup>6</sup>	<u>batqu</u>	NA	Economic	
be <sup>7</sup>	<u>bēlu</u> <sup>8</sup>	NA	Letter	
bi <sup>9</sup>	<u>birī</u>	Sel	Astronomical	
<u>biri</u> <sup>10</sup>	<u>birītu</u> <sup>11</sup>	NA	Mathematical	
b <sup>12</sup>	bn <sup>13</sup>	Ugaritic		

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1. See examples and interpretation in Neugebauer ACT, pp. 469 sub arki, 504.
2. Parpola, Toponyms, pp. 42, 44-45; RLA 2, p. 439, 34:4; CT 53, 175:1, 6,8,9.
3. RLA 1, p. 195; Parpola, Toponyms, pp. 42, 44-45; J.N. Postgate review of Parpola, Toponyms in JSS 25 (1980), p. 240.
4. RLA 1, p. 195.
5. Ibid., p. 196.
6. Proposed and supported by examples by Deller, Or NS 35 (1966), p. 311.
7. ABL 1081:2, 4, r. 8.
8. CAD B, p. 191 sub bēlu, Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 95, n. 253; A. Deimel, Pantheon babylonicum (Rome, 1914), p. 74; G.R. Driver, Textus 4 (1964), p. 94.
9. Proposed, without examples in Neugebauer, JCS 1, p. 218.
10. MKT, pl. 9 r. i:15.
11. Ibid., p. 222. The word is spelled out in full on 11. r.i:1,9,16, but the line in question already contains among the most signs on the tablet so a method to decrease the overload on the line could have been adopted.
12. Yeivin, Kedem 2 (1945), p. 34 from Driver, Textus 4, p. 76.
13. Ibid.; Fishbane, IDBS, p. 3.

I	II	III	IV	V
bu <sup>1</sup>	<u>bulluṭu</u> <sup>2</sup>	NA	Omens	
e <sup>3</sup>	<u>elat</u> <sup>4</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
e <sup>5</sup>	e.me	Sel	Astronomical	
gab <sup>6</sup>	<u>gabbu</u> <sup>7</sup>	MA	Letter	
kur <sub>ḥa</sub> <sup>8</sup>	kur <sub>ḥanigalbat</sub> <sup>9</sup>	MA	Annal	
ḥab <sup>10</sup>	ḥab.rat	Sel	Astronomical	
ḥal <sup>11</sup>	absin	Sel	Astronomical	
kur <sub>ḥani</sub> <sup>12</sup>	kur <sub>ḥanigalbat</sub> <sup>13</sup>	MA	Annal	

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1. Surpu iv, passim.
2. Reiner (Surpu, p. 57) interprets this as an abbreviation for the entire second line of the tablet, i.e. bulluṭu šullumu <sup>d</sup>amar.ud ittikama, which is repeated.
3. Neugebauer ACT 200, ii:16, 18.
4. Ibid., pp. 472, 504.
5. Examples and interpretation in Neugebauer, ACT, p. 472 sub e.me; Gelb, BiOr 15, p. 37.
6. EA 300:28 as collated by Na'aman, UF 11, p. 679; EA 286:36; 287:4 (both from the same source).
7. Ibid., n. 30.
8. IAK XXI, p. 116:18, n. x.
9. Ibid., p. 117 and parallel accounts; ARI I, p. 82 and n. 173.
10. Examples and interpretation in Neugebauer, ACT, p. 475; Gelb, BiOr 15, p. 37.
11. BM 78080 repeated in Neugebauer ACT II, p. 467, n. 1.
12. IAK , p. 116:20, n. e'.
13. Ibid., p. 117 and parallel accounts; ARI I, p. 82 and n. 174.

I	II	III	IV	V
hun <sup>1</sup>	lú <sup>1</sup> hun.ga <sup>2</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
ki <sup>3</sup>	absin	Sel	Astronomical	
ku <sup>4</sup>	<u>kumanu</u> <sup>5</sup>	MB	Economic	
kur <sup>6</sup>	anše.kur.ra	NA	Legal; letters	
<u>kura</u> <sup>7</sup>	anse.kur.ra <sup>8</sup>	NA	Legal; letters	
<u>kuta</u> <sup>9</sup>	<u>kutalli</u> <sup>10</sup>	OB	Omen	Note 3
li <sup>11</sup>	<u>līm</u> <sup>12</sup>	OB	Economic	
lu <sup>13</sup>	lú <sup>1</sup> hun.ga <sup>14</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	

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1. TCL VI, 29, v:22 and passim.
2. Neugebauer, JCS 1, p. 217.
3. References and interpretation in Neugebauer ACT, pp. 467, 504.
4. Wiseman Alalakh, 213.
5. Ibid., p. 77; CAD K, p. 532 sub kumānu a.
6. Proposed by von Soden, AHw, pp. 1051-1052 sub sisû(m) and Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 149.
7. JCS 20, p. 122:11, written syllabically as ku-û-ra.
8. von Soden, AHw, p. 1052 sub sisû(m); Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 149.
9. YOS X, 53:25' ff.
10. Kraus, JCS 3, p. 153; CAD K, p. 604 sub kutallu 2, a; Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 285 and n. 521.
11. Six occurrences listed in CAD L, p. 197 sub līmu B, b 3'.
12. Ibid., Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 95, n. 253.
13. TCL VI, 28, iv:4; r. iv:1, 12. Assumes lu read for the homophonous lú. Cf. Neugebauer ACT, p. 475 for examples.
14. Neugebauer, JCS 1, p. 217; cf. Ungnad, AfO 14 (1944), p. 256, n. 37. Other zodiacal abbreviations are listed in Neugebauer ACT I, p. 38.

I	II	III	IV	V
ma <sup>1</sup>	ma.na= <u>mīna</u>	MB-NB	Economic	
me <sup>2</sup>	<u>me'atum</u> <sup>3</sup>	OB-NB <sup>4</sup>	Economic	
mi <sup>5</sup>	<u>minū</u> <sup>6</sup>	NB	Mathematical	
<u>mut</u> <sup>7</sup>	<u>mutaritu</u> <sup>8</sup>	NA	Mathematical	
pa <sup>9</sup>	<u>parīsu</u> <sup>10</sup>		Economic	Note 4
<u>suha</u> <sup>11</sup>	<u>ṣuḥārī</u> <sup>12</sup>	OB	Letter (economic)	
ṣu <sup>13</sup>	<u>ṣuplu</u> <sup>14</sup>	OB	Mathematical	
ṣum <sup>15</sup>	<u>ṣumma</u> <sup>16</sup>	OB	Omen	
ta <sup>17</sup>	<u>tarabbu</u> <sup>18</sup>	NB	Mathematical	

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1. References and interpretation in CAD M<sub>T</sub>, p. 219 sub manū A; AHw, p. 604 sub manū(m) II; Postgate, Documents, pp. 65, 198 sub manū: mina 3.

2. TCL X, 24: r.32; AbB 1,2:8, Wiseman Alalakh 41:17 and other OB references in Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 95, n. 253; KAJ 101:2 (MA); AnSt 7, p. 128:16; 130:27; YOS III, 110:10; 19:8 (NB).

3. ARMT XV, pp. 89, 226; Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 95, n. 253.

4. By the NB period the abbreviation could have become understood as an ideogram read back into Sumerian from Akkadian.

5. MKT, p. 141, no. 4:9.

6. Ibid., pp. 168, 172-173; G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 270.

7. MKT, pl. 2:r.11,12,15; r. ed. 1,2.

8. Neugebauer, MKT II, p. 16. A form of the word is written in full on 1.3.

9. Wiseman Alalakh 43:4,14; 245:14.

10. Ibid., p. 20; AHw, p. 833 sub parīsu II; Stern, EM 4, col. 858.

11. CT 52, 116:24.

12. AbB 7, p. 96, n. 116 b.

13. MCT L:4-10,12,13,15,16.

14. Ibid., p. 88.

15. YOS X, 60:2

I	II	III	IV	V
tak <sup>1</sup>	<u>takribtu</u> <sup>2</sup>	OB	Grammatical	
<u>tal</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>talli</u> <sup>4</sup>	OB	Mathematical	Note 5
tar <sup>5</sup>	<u>tarši</u> <sup>6</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
taš <sup>7</sup>	<u>tašpiltu</u> <sup>8</sup>	Sel	Astronomical	
<u>taška</u> <sup>9</sup>	<u>taškarinnum</u> <sup>10</sup>	OB	Lexical list	
te <sup>11</sup>	<u>tepušani</u> <sup>12</sup>	NA	Incantation	
tin <sup>13</sup>	<u>itinnu</u>	NA		

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16. Kraus, JCS 3, p. 153.
17. MCT L:22,24,27, r.1,4,7,11,14.
18. Neugebauer MCT, pp. 168, 172-173; G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 270.

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1. PBS V, 149:1, cf. 1. 10 where it is written in full.
2. Kraus, JCS 3, p. 227.
3. Sumer 7 (1951), pl. 1-5: r.10 , cf. r.5', 8'; cited in Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 197 and n. 440.
4. Ibid.
5. Neugebauer ACT 207; r. Sect. 8:25, 28.
6. Ibid., pp. 494, 504.
7. Neugebauer ACT 211:13,14, r. 4; 801:rev.
8. Ibid., pp. 494, 504; G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 270; Gelb, BiOr 15, p. 37.
9. MSL IX, p. 170, iv:110 (gloss on Sumerogram).
10. Lieberman, Loanwords, pp. 95, n. 248; 505, n. 740.
11. Maqlû iv:17-38.
12. See Tallqvist Maqlû, ad loc.
13. Examples and discussion in K. Deller and S. Parpola, 'Die Schreibungen des Wortes etinnu "Baumeister" im Neuassyrischen', RA 60 (1966), pp. 59-70; cf. Krecher, OrNS 35 (1966), p. 311.

I	II	III	IV	V
u <sup>1</sup>	<u>upaššar</u> <sup>2</sup>	NA	Omen	
<u>unne</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>unnedukkum</u> <sup>4</sup>	OB	Letter	
utu <sup>5</sup>	gu <sub>4</sub> .utu <sup>6</sup>	Sel.	Astronomical	
za.ab <sup>7</sup>	za.ab.ša.li <sup>8</sup>	Ur III		
zi <sup>9</sup>	<u>ziqpu</u> <sup>10</sup>	NA	Mathematical	

### Notes on Akkadian Abbreviations

1. aka

Possibly abbreviated due to pressures of space, though this is not possible to say for certain since the text is not available to me for inspection.

2. aš

Borger in his signlist notes aš as a logogram for Aššur.<sup>11</sup> Since, however, this usage does not appear until the MA period, not being used in earlier, strictly Sumerian contexts, this would appear better to be understood

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1. Šurpu III, passim; KAR 94:46-61.
2. See Surpu III:2 and bu - bullutu above (p. 302). This too could be the abbreviation for the repetition of the entire second line.
3. OECT 3, 75:8.
4. Lieberman, Loanwords, pp. 95, n. 255; 428, n. 677.
5. Neugebauer ACT 310 r.i:21, 23.
6. Ibid., p. 504.
7. ITT 2, 762:r.4'
8. Kraus, JCS 5, p. 227.
9. MKT, pl. 9, ii :22; r.i:25.
10. Neugebauer, MKT II, p. 16; cf. 1. ii:16 where the form zi-iq occurs.
11. Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 55.



as an abbreviation. In analogy to words which were originally Sumerian and were subsequently adopted into Akkadian, aš appears to have been read back into Sumerian as a logogram. The name of the god Aššur also is at times represented by this same sign.<sup>1</sup>

3. kuta

In this omen text, the first omens (YOS X, 53:20'-24') have kutalli written in full, while the following omens shorten it to the abbreviated form. This is not a scribal error since it is repeated consistently.

4. pa

Since the same form of abbreviation is found in Hittite texts<sup>2</sup> and the proximity of Alalakh to the Hittite sphere of influence, this abbreviation could be a borrowing from Hittite.

5. tal

Since the sign dal/ri is used for tallu from early periods this would more likely be a loan word from Sumerian (as per AHW, p. 1311 sub tallu(m) II) but the abbreviation in the text cited is written syllabically (ta-al) rather than ideographically.

Several observations can be made concerning the Akkadian abbreviations listed. As regards the OB texts noted by Lieberman, 'all of the abbreviations occur in texts deriving from a manuscript tradition or in year names, except for the specific words [and] proper names'.<sup>3</sup> In other words, he observes,

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1. See RLA 1, p. 196 sub Aššur, 3.
2. Examples in AHW, p. 833 sub parisu II.
3. Lieberman, Loanwords, p. 95, n. 254.

abbreviations from this period are in the most part used in texts which are of more than passing interest<sup>or</sup> in fairly formalised situations such as the oft-repeated year name formulae. Abbreviations are not generally used where there is going to be only brief use of the text. This phenomenon can also be seen in texts from later periods such as contexts in which either the texts would be passed on diachronically to future generations, e.g. astronomical, mathematical and omen texts, or contexts in which there would be a wide synchronic use of the word, such as the technical words found in economic texts.

At times, however, the abbreviations are used in much more limited situations where neither this diachronic nor synchronic diffusion would appear likely. This includes those found in letters or annals, since these generally are unique. From the lack of parallels, it is not possible to determine whether these are idiosyncratic, spur-of-the-moment, creations of an individual scribe or are a commonplace for which we are lacking further evidence. In some cases it could be argued that what looks like an abbreviation is really a scribal error or was caused by the lack of space on one line but not on another (cf. ha and hani). When the abbreviations occur in manuscript traditions it is more clearly through choice than error since they are at times repeated in the same text or there is ample room to write the proposed word in full (e.g. bu, ú). It will be shown that this restricted usage of demonstrable abbreviations has bearing on those proposed by biblical scholars.

## 2. Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician and Punic

Other, non-cuneiform Semitic languages also used notarikon type abbreviations. Some of these also will be listed in tabular form. The forms given are in the 'square' script, though for many which were written before the fourth century BC, this convenient form is anachronistic. The evidence is

presented in the following columns:

- I The abbreviated form with reference to texts using the abbreviation;
- II Proposed original form with reference to scholars making the proposals;
- III Language(s) of the text in which the abbreviation occurs, subdivided as: (a) Hebrew, (b) Aramaic, (c) Phoenician/Punic;
- IV Date of the period of use in texts from I;
- V Genre of texts;
- VI Comments.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
κ <sup>1</sup>	אגמא <sup>2</sup>	c.	3rd cent. BC	Economic	Ritual text, but the word concerns money
κ <sup>3</sup>	אמא <sup>4</sup>	b.	9-5th cent. BC	Economic	Capacity measure; Egyptian
κ κ <sup>5</sup>	מאמא <sup>6</sup>	c.	4-3rd cent. BC	Votive	
מ <sup>7</sup>	מאמ <sup>8</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC <sup>9</sup>	Religious	
κ <sup>10</sup>	Abbreviation mark <sup>11</sup>	a.c.			

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1. CIS I, 165:12.

2. Donner, KAI I, p. 15; II, p. 86.

3. AP 24 passim; PSBA 29 (1907), pl. 1, a:4 and passim at Elephantine. Cf. a similar sign found on sherds from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (IEJ 27 [1977], p. 53).

4. Sayce, PSBA 29, p. 261; Porten, Archives, p. 70, n. 48; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113. The sign from Kuntillet 'Ajrud has been interpreted as indicating a capacity, quantity or quality (Buried History 14 [1978], p. 10), the first of which corresponds to the use at Elephantine.

5. CIS I, 399:6.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
ץ <sup>1</sup>	אלהים <sup>2</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Religious	
ב <sup>3</sup>	בקע <sup>4</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC-1st cent. AD	Economic	Weights
ב <sup>5</sup>	בת <sup>6</sup>	a.	13th-6th cent. BC	Economic	Measure
בב <sup>7</sup>	בבית <sup>8</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	
בי <sup>9</sup>	בית <sup>10</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Legal <sup>11</sup>	

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6. Perles, Analekten, pp. 7-8.

7. Rabin, Zadokite, p. 71, xv i.

8. Ibid., p. 71; G.R. Driver, Scrolls, p. 336; cf. Fishbane, IDBS, p.4.

9. The probable date of the original work (see G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls [London, 1977], p. 49; IDB 4, p. 933, contra 1st cent AD proposed by Baillet and Milik, DJD III, pp. 129, 181).

10. KA 3:2

11. Pardee, UF 10 (1978), p. 293.

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1. Rabin, Zadokite, pp. 31, vii /xix:20/7; 37, xix:19; 79, B:8 and passim in MS B; cf. also p. 71, xv:1.

2. Posited by Rabin (ibid.) to be a medieval abbreviation added by a later scribe.

3. Lachish III, pl. 51; Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste 3, p. 24; PSBA 29, pl. 1, c:13; possibly IEJ 15, p. 112 (see p. 327, n. 6).

4. Tuffnel, Lachish III, p. 351; Sayce, PSBA 29, p. 262; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 41 sub בקע<sup>II</sup>; Moscati, Epigrafia, p. 103, no. 10; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113; idem, Textus 4, p. 77.

5. IR 5; KA 1:3; 2:2; 4:3 and passim at Arad; Beer-Sheba I, p. 71:2; SSI II, fig. 21:3(?).

6. Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I, p. 71; Gibson, SSI I, p. 15; Aharoni, IEJ 16 (1966), p. 2; Lipinski, Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 8 (1977), p. 91; Lemaire, Inscriptions, pp. 279, 281; Pardee, UF 10 (1978), p. 291, 297 and passim.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
א <sup>1</sup>	גריו <sup>2</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	Quantity measure; a סאה <sup>3</sup>
הי <sup>4</sup>	היהודים <sup>5</sup>	a.	2nd cent. BC & later	Coins	
הכ <sup>6</sup>	הכהן <sup>7</sup>	a.	2nd cent. BC	Coins	
ח <sup>8</sup>	חטים <sup>9</sup>	b.	4th cent. BC	Economic	
ח <sup>10</sup>	חפץ <sup>11</sup>	b.	4th cent. BC	Economic	

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7. AP 81, passim; PSBA 29, pl. 1, a:5 and passim.

8. 'To the/on account of', Sayce, PSBA 29, p. 261; Grelot, DAE, p. 106, n.h; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

9. BP 9:27; AP 8:35 and passim in Elephantine.

10. BP, p. 239; AP, p. 24.

11. Both of the examples in n. 9 have the abbreviation on the outside description of the tablet (see above, p. 25 ).

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1. AP 2:[4,5], 7; 24:38, 41; ESE III, p. 300, A:3, 4.

2. Porten, Archives, p. 70, n. 48; Grelot, DAE, p. 267; Lidzbarski, ESE III, p. 300 as גרב; cf. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 53 sub גרב.

3. So Grelot, DAE, p. 267.

4. Madden, Coinage, pp. 56, 62, 67; Numismatic Chronicle NS 2 (1862), pl. vi.

5. Reichardt, Numismatic Chronicle NS 2, p. 269; Perles, Analekten, pp. 53-54. Cf. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 114 where he notes various 2nd cent. abbreviations of היה, היהו, היהד and היהדי .

6. Madden, Coinage, p. 56; Numismatic Chronicle NS 2, p. 269.

7. Reichardt, ibid.; Madden, Coinage, p. 56.

8. KA 13:2; Beer-Sheba I, pl. 35 - 3:2; 5:3; 6:4; pl. 36 - 10:1.

9. Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pp. 80-81 referring also to Ezra 7:22; Hestrin, IR, p. 69.

10. AP 24:38, 41; ESE III, p. 300, A:3; B: [1], 2, 3.

11. Driver, AD, p. 60; Lidzbarski, ESE III, p. 300, possibly for חלור; Porten, Archives, p. 70, n. 48; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 94 sub חפץ.

I	II	III	IV	v	VI
ח <sup>1</sup>		b.	4th cent. BC	Economic	
חל <sup>2</sup>	חלור (ין) <sup>3</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	
חר <sup>4</sup>	חר <sup>5</sup>	a.	1st cent. AD	Coins	
ט	טב <sup>6</sup>	a., <sup>7</sup>	8th - 3rd	Jars	Wine quality
		b., <sup>8</sup>	cent. BC		
		c. <sup>9</sup>			
, <sup>10</sup>	יב, <sup>11</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Identification	Tay <sup>z</sup> oo

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1. ESE III, p. 23:8.
2. AP 81:40; BP 7:14,15,27; PSBA 29, pl. 1, c:12,13,15 and passim.
3. Cowley, AP, p. 287; Kraeling, BP, p. 312; Grelot, DAE, p. 110; cf. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113 for ח = חלור.
4. Madden, Coinage, pp. 165,168,169 and passim; IDB 3, pp. 434-435, no. 36, 38-40, 43.
5. Ibid., pp. 434-435; Madden, Coinage, passim.
6. Delavault and Lemaire, Semitica 25 (1975), pp. 31-41; Lemaire, RB 83 (1976), p. 57. For other interpretations see Goldwasser and Naveh, IEJ 26 (1976), pp. 15-19 (as an originally hieratic sign, a prepositional for 'royal'); Yadin, IEJ 15, p. 112 (as טב; cf. Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni 4:11, p. 306, n. 2 above).
7. BASOR 172 (1963), pp. 25, fig. 1; 26, fig. 2; 29, fig. 3; IEJ 18 (1968), p. 226:3; EI 9 (1969), pp. 22, 25 (fig. 1, no. 6). For further discussion see Cross, EI 9, pp. 20-27; Rainey, Scripta Hierosolymitana 8 (1961), pp. 9-25; idem, IEJ 16 (1966), pp. 187-190; Lapp, BASOR 172, pp. 22-35, especially p. 28; Cross, IEJ 18, p. 231; Avigad, IEJ 24 (1974), pp. 52-54.
8. Lidzbarski, Phönizische, pl. vi, no. 65. For discussions, see Albright in Glueck, BASOR 80 (1940), p. 8, n. 11 (as טפלא); Cross, BASOR 193 (1969), pp. 19-20; Colella, RB 80 (1973), pp. 547-553.
9. Lidzbarski, Phönizische, pl. vi, no. 56-64; BASOR 158 (1960), p. 24, fig. 4-16; p. 27, fig. 17; EI 9, p. 22. For discussions see Vincent, RB 56 (1949), pp. 274-279; Avigad, BASOR 158 (1960), pp. 23-27; Hirschland and Hammond, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 72 (1968), pp. 369-382.
10. AP 28:4,5 where the mark is spelled out to be a יו placed on a slave's arm.
11. G.R. Driver, Textus 4, p. 77.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
י <sup>1</sup>	יין <sup>2</sup>	a.	1st cent. AD	Economic	Tag
י <sup>3</sup>	ימ(ם) <sup>4</sup>	b., c.	2nd cent. BC	Date Formula	
יה <sup>5</sup>	יהד <sup>6</sup>	a.	4th cent. BC	Jar Stamp	
ישר <sup>7</sup>	ישר אל <sup>8</sup>	a.	1st cent. AD	Coins	
כ <sup>9</sup>	? <sup>10</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	Related to grain (שערן). Type?
כ <sup>11</sup>	כסף <sup>12</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	
כ <sup>13</sup>	כף <sup>14</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Building text	Distance measure; part of cubit.
כ <sup>15</sup>	כר(ן) <sup>16</sup>	b.	5th-4th cent. BC	Economic	Barley quantity
כ <sup>17</sup>	כרש <sup>18</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC - 2nd cent. AD	Economic	
כא <sup>19</sup>	כנתן ארדב <sup>20</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	

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1. IEJ 15, pl. 19c.
2. Yadin, Ibid., p. 113, also possibly as '10' or 'tithe' (see p. 113, n. 99); Buried History 14, p. 10.
3. ESE I, p. 71:1.
4. Lidzbarski, ESE I, p. 70; G.R. Driver, Textus 4, p. 78; cf. Lidzbarski, Handbuch, pp. 420, 1:1; 421, 3:1 for Phoenician examples written in full.
5. IR 154; EAEHL, p. 1007.
6. Israeli, IR, p. 68.
7. Madden, Coinage, pp. 162, 164.
8. Ibid.
9. AP 24:7, 16.
10. Cowley, ibid., p. 81 'obscure'; Grelot, DAE, p. 272, n. f 'inexpliquée'.
11. AP 22:21 ff; in ll. 1-9 it is written out in full, ll. 10-20 are broken.
12. Grelot, DAE, pp. 358-364; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 13, but cf. Cowley, AP, p. 71 'for himself'.
13. BP 4:7.
14. Kraeling, BP, p. 173; Grelot, DAE, p. 222, n. d; cf. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
כ <sup>1</sup> (כ)	ככר (ין) <sup>2</sup>	a.	1st cent. AD	Economic	
פ <sup>3</sup>	כנח פרסן <sup>4</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Economic	
כר <sup>5</sup>	כרש <sup>6</sup>	c.	3rd cent. BC	Economic	In building text
					see כ = כרש above.
מ <sup>7</sup>		a/b?		Economic (?)	
מ <sup>8</sup>	מעה <sup>9</sup>	b.	5th - 3rd cent. BC	Economic	Currency paid for grain.

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15. Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, 1:22; 2:2 and passim at Beer-sheba; ibid., p. 79, n.5:2, 3 (Tel el Far'ah); cf. Naveh, 'Persian Period', pp. 184-186; Delaporte, Epigraphes, 47, 74, 104.
16. Hestrin, IR, pp. 69, 71; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pp. 79-81.
17. AP 36 b:1; 63:11; 81:61,62(?); Mur 9, 3:1(?) - 6 (possibly is כ (כ) below).
18. Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 127 sub כרש; Milik, DJD II, p. 90, cf. fig. 27 on p. 98; G.R. Driver, Textus I, p. 113.
19. N. Aimé-Giron, Textes araméens d'Egypte (Cairo, 1931), 87; PSBA 29, pl. 1, f:2, 5.
20. Porten, Archives, p. 82, n. 91.

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1. 3Q15 iii:7, 13; iv:5,10,12,14; Mur 9, 3:1-6 (possibly is כרש = כ above, so Milik, DJD II, p. 90).
2. Milik, DJD III, p. 221.
3. BP 11:4.
4. Spelled out in full in BP 11:3; Allrik, BASOR 136 (1954), p. 23, n. 2.
5. KAI 43:14.
6. Donner, KAI II, p. 62; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 127 sub כרש.
7. CIS II 53:1 מִי חֻקְלָה ; cf. DISO, p. 140 sub מִי VII.  
שלמה      כִּי חֻקְלָה
8. AP 81:70 and passim; ESE II, p. 46 passim; NESE 3 (1978), p. 44:2-7,9; 6Q26, 2:2,3; Mur 9, 3:1; 10 A:2,4; PSBA 29, pl. 1f:3(?) and passim; cf. ESE III, pp. 22, B b :13; 244 passim and other examples noted in NESE 3, p. 45.  
DJD
9. Milik, DJD II, p. 90; Baillet, III, p. 139; Degen, NESE 3, p. 45; cf. Lidzbarski ESE III, pp. 22,245; G.R. Driver, 'The Aramaic Papyri from Egypt: Notes on Obscure Passages', JRAS 59 (1932), pp. 84-86; idem, Textus 1, p. 113.



I	II	III	IV	V	VI
ס <sup>1</sup>	טאה <sup>2</sup>	b.	5th - 3rd cent. BC Economic		Currency paid for grain.
ס <sup>3</sup>	פר <sup>4</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC	Legal	Possibly a scribal error. <sup>5</sup>
ע	עשר				See entry עש
עש <sup>6</sup>	עשרין שנה <sup>7</sup>	a.	1st cent. AD	Religious	
פ <sup>8</sup>	פנים <sup>9</sup>	c.	2nd cent. BC (?)	Economic	
פ <sup>10</sup>	פלא <sup>11</sup>	b.	5th - 4th cent. BC	Economic	
פ <sup>12</sup>	פרש <sup>13</sup>	b.	5th (?) cent. BC	Economic	Weight
פ <sup>14</sup>	קב(ים) <sup>15</sup>	b.	4th cent. BC - 2nd cent. AD	Economic	Weight
קש <sup>16</sup>	קדש <sup>17</sup>	c. <sup>18</sup>	7th cent. BC	Offering dishes	

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1. KA 1:2; 2:1; 3:2 and passim; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pl. 35, 1:2; 2:2 and passim; AP 81:2,3,134,136; BP 17:3,4; Mur 8,1:2, 3; 2:1; ESE III, p. 300, A:1; cf. P -6Q2:2-3.

2. Aharoni, KA, pp. 167ff; idem, Beer-sheba I, pp. 79-81; Cowley, AP, pp. 196,198,301; Milik, DJD II, 88-89; Baillet, DJD III, p. 139; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 189 sub טאה; Stern, EM 4, col. 855; Lidzbarski, ESE III, p. 300; G.R. Driver, Textus I, p. 113.

3. AP 13:12.

4. Cowley, AP, pp. 38, 40; Grelot, DAE, p. 187.

5. So Cowley, AP, p. 40.

6. 1Q28a, i:27.

7. G.R. Driver, Writing, p. 271. Milik in DJD I, p. 116 interprets this as an abbreviation for עשרים. The former is the common pattern in OT notices of age, e.g. Gen 5:32; Exod 7:7; Lev 27:5 and passim.

8. CIS I, 87:2; 86 passim with a following ׀ which is a Phoenician and Sinaitic suffix of abbreviation, mainly used on hypocoristic names; see, for Phoenician texts, JAOS 74 (1954), p. 230:11 and notes on p. 227; BASOR 164 (1961), p. 22; ESE II, pp. 7-10 and, for Sinaitic, BASOR 110 (1948), p. 21 and n. 77.

9. Lane, BASOR 164, pp. 21-23; cf. G.R. Driver, Textus I, p. 113.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
קמ <sup>1</sup>	קמח <sup>2</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	
קר <sup>3</sup>	קרנ <sup>4</sup>	a.	9th - 8th cent. BC	Jar	
ר <sup>5</sup>	רב <sup>6</sup>	c.		Personal title	
ר <sup>7</sup>	רבעחיא <sup>8</sup>	b.	5th cent. BC - 2nd cent. AD	Economic	Describes currency

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10. Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pl. 35, 3:2; pl. 36, 10; AP 81:3, 62 and passim; Naveh, 'Persian Period', pp. 186-189; ESE III, p. 25 and passim.

11. Grelot, DAE, pp. 106ff; Hestrin, IR, p. 69; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, p. 80; Lidzbarski, ESE III, p. 26; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

12. AP 63:2,3,5; BP 17:3-5.

13. Porten, Archives, p. 71; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, p. 79, n. 5.

14. KA 6:2; 8:3; 12:4; NESE 3, p. 38:4,6,8,9; Mur 8,1:1,3.

15. Aharoni, KA, pp. 171,173,175; Milik, DJD II, p. 88; Degen, NESE 3, p. 41; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 247 sub קב.

16. KA 102,103.

17. Cross, BASOR 235 (1979), p. 76; cf. also Hestrin, IR, p. 38.

BASOR 235,

18. Cross, pp. 75-78. Aharoni (KA, pp. 118) read this as קדש=ק or קרנ + unknown symbol. Cross presented other Phoenician abbreviations which are similar to that which he proposes here in that they generally provide the first and last letter(s) rather than simply the first. He does not supply specific references for each of these. They are: אך from אדורמלך; עג from עם גבל and גל from גבל (all from Byblus); בם from בעל שלם (Sidon), מל from מלקרת (CIS 5980) and תת from תנת (Tas Silg). Cross states that Old Hebrew 'abbreviations using the first and last letter (or more than one letter) are unknown, so far as I am aware, in our present corpus of inscriptions' (ibid., p. 77). Cf. also של (Diringer, Inscrizioni, no. 269-270) for שקל proposed by G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

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1. KA 8:2; Tel Aviv 4 (1977), p. 102, text 112.

2. Aharoni, KA, p. 24 sees this as a possible scribal error; M. Görg, qmh und qm in den Arad-Ostraka', BN 6 (1978), pp. 7-11.

3. IEJ 27 (1977), p. 52.

4. Buried History 14, p. 10.

5. CIS I, 132:4; 170:1.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
ש <sup>1</sup>	שנה <sup>2</sup>	a. <sup>3</sup>	2nd cent. BC - 2nd cent. AD	Coins	
ש <sup>4</sup>	שער <sup>5</sup>	b.	7th - 4th cent. BC Economic		

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6. CIS I, pp. 161, 260; Perles, Analekten, p. 11; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

7. AP 6:15; 8:14,21; 9:15; PSBA 29, pl. 1, c:8 and passim in Elephantine; Mur 9, 3 passim; 10, A passim; NESE 3, p. 44:8.

8. Cowley, AP, p. 309; Grelot, DAE, pp. 175, 178 and passim; Milik, DJD II, pp. 90, 98, fig. 27; Hoftijzer, DISO, p. 273 sub רבע; Sayce, PSBA 29, p. 262; Degen, NESE III, p. 44; cf. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

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1. 1Q28a, i:27; IDB 3, pp. 434-435, no. 36, 38; Reifenberg, Coinage, pp. 43, 3; 44, 4 and passim; ESE I, p. 272.

2. Reifenberg, Coinage, passim; Lidzbarski, ESE I, p. 273; Hamburger, IDB 3, pp. 434-435; see entry ש above.

3. See also in first cent. BC Nabataean coins in Meshorer, Nabataean, pp. 87, 9; 88, 15-17a, [19] and passim.

4. KA 1:2; 2:1 and passim; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pl. 35, 1:2; 2:2 and passim; (Tel el-Far'ah) ibid., p. 79, n. 5:2; AP 24 passim; 63:2; BP 17:3-5 (?).

5. Aharoni, KA, p. 167 and passim; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pp. 79-81; Cowley, AP, p. 311; Porten, Archives, p. 29; Hestrin, IR, p. 71; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
ש	שקל <sup>1</sup>	a. <sup>2</sup> b. <sup>3</sup>	8th -	Economic	
n <sup>4</sup>	תרומה <sup>5</sup>	a./b.?	1st cent. AD	Economic	Incised on wine bottles

Several other cases of this type of abbreviation have been noted by scholars but references to their use were not given.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Perles, Analekten, p. 11; Maisler, IEJ 1 (1950-1951), p. 209; Naveh, IEJ 12 (1962), p. 30; Maisler, JNES 10 (1951), p. 266; Dothan and Dunayevski, EAEHL, p. 968; Aharoni, BASOR 184 (1966), p. 19; Hoftijzer, DISO, pp. 318f sub שקל; Hestrin, IR, p. 29; Sayce, PSBA 29, p. 261; Lidzbarski, ESE II, 201, 225, 244-245; Degen, NESE 3, p. 44; Moscati, Epigrafia, p. 113, no. 11; Lemaire, Inscriptions, pp. 279-281; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 176; Pardee, UF 10, p. 293; G.R. Driver, Textus 1, p. 113.

2. KA 16:5; 65:1,2; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, ad loc; IEJ 1, pl. 38, A:2; IEJ 12, pl. 5, E; pl. 6, A:2; D; JNES 10, pl. XI, B:2; Moscati, Epigrafia, pl. XXXI, 2; EM 4, col. 866; NESE 3, p. 43:7.

3. AP 24:1 and passim; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pl. 37, 16:2; 17:1; IR 42:2; PSBA 29, pl. 1, b :5; ESE II, pp. 201, c :1; 224:2,3; 246:3,7 and passim.

4. IEJ 15, p. 111.

5. Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni 4:11; cf. p. 306, n. 2 above.

6. E.g. (in Hebrew) ב, uninterpreted, from Masada (IEJ 15, p. 112; cf. p. 319, n. 3); בן = Fishbane, IDBS, p. 3); גט, uninterpreted, from Masada (IEJ 15, p. 112); היה = היהודים on coins from the 2nd cent. BC and later (Fishbane, IDBS, p. 4); חב = חב, as the last (ibid.); חצץ, uninterpreted from Masada (IEJ 15, p. 112); מ = מעשר (Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni 4:11; cf. p. 306, n. 2; צץ, uninterpreted, from Masada (IEJ 15, p. 112); ק = קרבן (Rainey, ZPEB 5, p. 200; Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni 4:11; cf. p. 297, n. 2; קא from Masada (IEJ 15, pl. 19, D) tentatively suggested by Yadin (ibid., p. 112) to represent either קרבן or קדש with the א suffix (see p. 324, n. 8 above).

In the extant texts, abbreviations of this type first make their appearance in the late second millennium BC and increase in use until they are common in the Aramaic texts of the mid-first millennium. The overwhelming majority of the abbreviations occur in economic or economically related contexts, including jars and coins which refer to commonly repeated terms such as measurements of different types or else to different sorts of commodities. The only occurrences in contexts which might be considered more literary include a benediction (כ כ), a very stylised and fixed form which could easily be abbreviated and in two later religious texts. In the Zadokite document, two appellations of God are abbreviated (כא, כ) but this is most likely for theological rather than scribal reasons, to preserve the sanctity of the name.<sup>1</sup> In legal contexts, two identical abbreviations (כי) are used on the outside of an envelope which contains more informal indications of the concern of the text rather than being part of the legally binding document itself, in which the word כי is spelled out in full (e.g. BP 3:4 and passim). The abbreviated form could have arisen due to space limitations in a context where formal completeness was not of paramount importance. In sum, therefore, abbreviations in extra-biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenecian/Punic texts fall within very circumscribed parameters of use. The only abbreviations suggested which fall outside of these parameters are קב and טע, both of which could easily be scribal errors. The situation in these languages is thus very similar to that noted concerning the use of abbreviations in Akkadian (see pp. 316-317 above) in their extremely restricted use.

Before turning to a discussion of possible and proposed abbreviations occurring in the MT, it should again be noted that another possible form of

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1. Cf. the common spelling of the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran material with an archaized script; cf. G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls (London, 1977), p. 43.

abbreviation involves the use of some symbol to represent a word or concept (see p. 307 above). Apart from the inverted 1 which is not strictly an example of this type of abbreviation since it is a form of an independently existant letter, there are no such symbols in the MT. Some do occur in the DSS material and in other extra-biblical texts. A collection of these is found in Appendix I, pp. 411-422 below.

G.R. Driver in his two Textus articles (see p. 305, n. 2 above) collected a number of examples of abbreviations which had previously been proposed by others, as well as making some suggestions himself. These were apparently discerned by noting a difficulty in the MT rendering and/or variant readings in parallel passages or in the versions. Driver is able to delimit to some extent the contexts in which the proposed abbreviations occur as being:

'terminations, including pronominal elements; independent pronouns; particles; common nouns of frequent occurrence especially those for numbers and measures; other nouns when they have recently been mentioned; names of persons and places which occur often, especially the divine names; occasional sentences, such as formulae and quotations, and expressions recurring frequently in any given book.'<sup>1</sup>

As regards the period in which the proposed abbreviations were included in the text, he holds that 'abbreviation must have played a considerable part in the pre-Septuagintal text of the O.T., although not nearly to the same extent as it does in medieval manuscripts' and that 'this device ... may be ascribed to the influence of Greek copyists'.<sup>2</sup> He therefore appears to view these not as the work of the original authors but rather of later scribes,<sup>3</sup> and so they would fit within the purview of this thesis.

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1. G.R. Driver, Textus 4, p. 94.

2. Textus 1, p. 130.

3. See next note.

Many of the abbreviations proposed by Driver and others are, however, questionable,<sup>1</sup> since equally possible alternative explanations can be proposed. Not the least of these is that the MT is generally accurate and that the traditional understanding of the text is at least as justified as a proposed abbreviation, if not more so since first priority should be given to what is objectively present rather than what is subjectively postulated. Driver himself admits in some instances that the MT makes as much or more sense than the proposed rereading.<sup>2</sup> This is indicated to some extent by the lack of Masoretic notes in most of the instances proposed,<sup>3</sup> showing that they did not see insurmountable difficulties in the text.

Driver (and Fishbane<sup>4</sup>) have divided proposed abbreviations into several categories. These will be discussed individually. The first category is that which include 'the omission of terminations, such as the sing. fem -t or -ah and the plur. masc. -(i)m and -e and the fem. -oth, which can be readily supplied by the reader.'<sup>5</sup> While there might be instances of abbreviations among the examples presented,<sup>6</sup> there are alternative explanations which describe the evidence at least as thoroughly. While some study has been undertaken regarding gender and number concord between elements of a sentence,<sup>7</sup> the

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1. Cf. e.g. GK, para. 5 m 'Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O.T., but they occur on coins'; Hanson, 'Jewish Palaeography', p. 569, concerning the Dead Sea material, 'the absence of any clear evidence for the use of abbreviations', n. 52, 'though Driver claims to operate with caution, he seems to be opening the lid of a Pandora's box. There are simply too few controls to warrant much conjecture in this area'; Cross, BASOR 235, p. 77, n. 8 'It should be remarked that abbreviations found in the Hebrew Bible by the ingenuity of some scholars must be seriously questioned in light of this data [i.e. the paucity of Old Hebrew examples], or in any case be reckoned marks of a later age of scribes.'

2. See Textus 1, pp. 115-116, 124, 129-130.

3. See e.g. Fishbane, IDBS, p. 4, 3 e; GK, para. 15, n.2.

4. IDBS, pp. 3-5.

5. G.R. Driver, Textus 1, pp. 114-115.

phenomenon is not by any means completely understood. New insights are being produced,<sup>1</sup> but a comprehensive analysis needs urgently to be performed. Rather than being abbreviations, these could be examples of a lack of concord. Some could also be understood as scribal errors, especially of audition, especially in cases where there is an apparent confusion between masculine and feminine singulars of ל"ב or ל"ע verbs. Poor diction or inattentive hearing could easily lead to a confusion between נסע and נסעה,<sup>2</sup> יצא and יצאה,<sup>3</sup> or בנה and בני.<sup>4</sup> This type of dictation error could also explain other apparent anomalies.<sup>5</sup> These apparently anomalous forms could equally reflect an incomplete understanding of nominal gender in Hebrew. For example, the apparent lack of concord between the feminine ויו and the following נסע<sup>6</sup> and חזק could well rather be

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6. Examples in ibid., pp. 115-118, 125-126; idem, Textus 4, p. 78; Fishbane, IDBS, p. 4, 3, a, i; b, i; c, i.

7. E.g. GK, para. 145; Jouon, Grammaire, para. 148-152.

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1. See e.g. Fokkelman, Narrative, p. 79 where he suggests that the lack of concord between subject and verb in Gen 28:22 (והאבן הזאת... יהיה בית אלהים) arises due to gender attraction of the immediately adjacent direct object (cf. p. 331, n. 6). See also the Ph.D. research of Mrs. S. Littman done at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on concord in Ugaritic but with attention also paid to cognate languages.

2. Num 11:31, proposed by Driver, Textus 1, p. 118.

3. Jer 48:45, cf. Num 21:28, proposed by Driver, ibid.

4. Mic. 3:18, by ibid.

5. Num 11:31, cf. n. 2 above.

6. 1 Ki 19:11, cf. Fishbane, IDBS, p. 4, 3, c, i. Driver (Textus 1, p. 116) suggests that the lack of concord could be 'due to the distance of the predicative term from the noun which it qualifies'.



an indication that נא is ambiguous as regards gender as has been proposed by some scholars.<sup>1</sup> It must be kept in mind that linguistic analysis is descriptive rather than prescriptive, so that the 'rules' should be stated only after a thorough evaluation of all of the evidence rather than altering the evidence to conform to pre-existing 'rules'.

A second category of abbreviations proposed by Driver are explained as those where 'the absence of the pronominal suffixes where they may be naturally expected often suggests that they have been omitted by way of abbreviation'.<sup>2</sup> In some cases, though by no means all, these could rather reflect an early date of composition, prior to the consistent use of matres lectiones.<sup>3</sup> This explanation might also explain the lack of final ו and the 'incorrect' use of the jussive or preterite in verbs.<sup>4</sup> Many of the forms make very good sense in the form in which they occur in the MT, so some other explanation is not needed. The same can be said in many instances for the abbreviation proposed of divine names.<sup>5</sup>

Other proposed abbreviations are those where there is a possible missing initial letter,<sup>6</sup> final letter,<sup>7</sup> or medial letters.<sup>8</sup> Also it is proposed that some common formulae or quotations might also have been abbreviated.<sup>9</sup> All of

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1. E.g. BDB, p. 924 sub נא.
2. Textus 1, p. 117; examples and discussion in ibid., p. 117; Textus 4, p. 79.
3. See Cross and Freedman, Orthography for a study of the development of the use of matres lectiones.
4. Driver, Textus 1, p. 118. It is of interest to note that the majority of the examples cited are from Job, possibly indicating an early date for the composition of that book.
5. See Driver, Textus 1, pp. 119-120; idem, Textus 4, p. 79; Fishbane, IDBS, p. 4, 3, a, ii; b, ii; c, ii.
6. See Driver, Textus 1, p. 120.
7. Driver, Textus 4, pp. 80-81.
8. Driver, Textus 1, pp. 128-129; idem, Textus 4, p. 86.

these proposals, and the others made concerning examples in the OT, are faced with some basic methodological difficulties, especially when compared with abbreviations existant in the extra-biblical literature. Firstly, one of the functions of an abbreviation ('enabling a text to be written in a space which is too small for it', see p. 304 ) does not hold for works such as the biblical books. Also, most of the abbreviations proposed do not save enough space to allow this to be their purpose, since the majority of the cases proposed involve the deletion of only one or two consonants. The other function ('lightening the burden of copying long works in which, for example, recurring words or phrases may be written in a shortened form', see ibid.) also has problems. The proposed abbreviations are not consistent in a given book. For example, if Jer 28:1 does have an abbreviation אל-ירמיהו latent in the MT אלי,<sup>1</sup> why do the following occurrences of the name<sup>2</sup> have it written out in full. This does not correspond to the (possibly contemporaneous) use of abbreviations for repeated words in Akkadian texts (see bu, ú, pp.311 and 315 respectively). Also, the meticulous care taken by the Masoretes to preserve the received text as accurately as possible, guarding against the change of even small details, would argue against the substitution of their own abbreviations for God's word.

Secondly, there is a discrepancy between the genres of the texts in which the cuneiform, and especially the alphabetic Semitic non-biblical abbreviations occur and the genres of those proposed in the OT. The latter include poetry, narrative, ritual, prophecy and wisdom, while the former include a much narrower range of genres, namely economic texts, dates or common commodities. Also, where exigencies of space are not paramount, extra-biblical abbreviations are not found in texts in which the exact wording would be of extreme importance.

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1. See ibid., p. 79.

2. E.g. 28:5, 6 and passim.

An example has already been pointed out (p. 328 ) in that an Aramaic abbreviation can be used on the envelope of a legal document, but it is not found in the binding legal document itself. This is relevant to the OT, especially as regards the recognition of it as 'canon' by the Israelites. Since it can be argued that the text of the OT was often regarded as canonical and inviolable at a very early stage in some instances,<sup>1</sup> its alteration by substituting abbreviations would appear unlikely. These points would all argue against the use of this technique by the original authors or by orthodox scribes who followed after them.

How does one explain the variants in parallel passages and in the versions? There are several possible explanations, one of which is that there could in fact have been abbreviations in the texts from which copies were made. These were then read differently by different scribal groups and so resulted in differing traditions. Driver has stated that abbreviations could have arisen due to the influence of Greek scribes (see p. 329 above). These scribes lived in an Egyptian environment in which abbreviations in Aramaic documents were common (see the abbreviations found in the Aramaic texts from Elephantine, pp. 309-315 above). They also were one step removed from keeping the sanctity of the Hebrew text, since they were translating it into another language. In addition, translation in any case involves interpretation and in some cases in the LXX, as well as the Targums and other versions, this involved paraphrasing the text or only using it for a springboard for midrashic exegesis. All of these factors could have primed the copiers to find abbreviations even though

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1. See e.g. D.N. Freedman, 'The Law and the Prophets', VT Sup 9 (1963), pp. 250-265.

they were not originally there, or their hermeneutics could have led to a reinterpretation of the Hebrew text, thus giving rise to the textual variants through means other than a middle stage of original-abbreviation-misreconstruction of the original.

A final reason for caution in this area is the complete lack of objective proof of abbreviations in the MT. While these are objectively demonstrable in the extra-biblical texts, the MT has been so normalised that if abbreviations did at one time exist, they are no longer objectively evident and so the area of subjective interpretation should argue for prudent caution. The above observations have suggested alternative proposals which should be weighed before challenging the integrity of the objective, though by no means inviolable and sacred, MT.



## Summary and Conclusions

This thesis produced several new insights into and interpretations of various scribal techniques. These should be a benefit to understanding the textual history of the literatures discussed.

The first chapter of this work explains aspects of text description, starting with subscripts and focussing mainly on colophons. Hunger (Kolophone) is supplemented by noting several colophons which he had not included. This is a useful exercise which will need to be continued whenever new texts are published. More detailed information concerning the contents of colophons is also given. Here, and elsewhere, Hunger is shown to be inconsistent in his inclusion of various elements of the colophon (mainly the catch-line), an inconsistency which detracts from the usefulness of his work. One aspect of the use of the colophon is touched upon in the discussion of the colophon on ana ittisu vii. It appears that this final tablet in one rescension of the text is not final in another rescension. This and other similar points provide a spring-board to the study of canonicity in Akkadian texts and the relationship between textual traditions in different scholarly centres which is beyond the immediate scope of this thesis.

Ugaritic colophons are studied, adding an additional six to the four mentioned by Wendel (Buchbeschreibung). One of the additional colophons (KTU 2.19) does not appear to have been previously noticed.

In Aramaic documents, the endorsements on *the backs of the documents* are compared to colophons and a number of similarities are noted. There is also shown to be a difference between this material on the envelope and the corresponding

material in the text body, possibly arising from the binding, legal nature of the latter.

Hebrew texts in the OT are somewhat different from those in the other languages discussed in that they do not include colophons at the end of a book, with the possible exception of Hos 14:10, which does include several colophonic elements. There are examples of colophons, however, which occur at the end of a section of a text within the body of a book. Although Hunger (Kolophone) does not note any of these in Akkadian, examples are included here. Section final colophons in Hebrew are identified and compared to previously recognized Akkadian colophons. A detailed study of Lev 7:35-36, 37-38 indicates the original presence of two text units, 1-5 and 6-7, apparently each with its own colophon. When the two were united, one of these original colophons was retained (7:35-36) and a further one added to describe the entire passage (vv. 37-38). Other colophons in the OT are noted, including those in the form of the תולדות formula. The question is whether this formula merely opens or closes the passage to which it is affixed. It is argued that it exercises both functions as determined by the context rather than being rigid in its application.

Attention is given to a critical review of the statements by Gevaryahu that 'most of the items in biblical superscriptions were originally written at the end of the text and in a later period transferred to the beginning',<sup>1</sup> and that the author's name was part of the colophon. Numerous aspects of this are here called into question. The presence of the name of

.....

1. VT Sup 28 (1975), p. 52.

the author in Akkadian texts is shown to be statistically insignificant while even in biblical texts it is not the author who is named ~~but~~ rather the 'scribe' since, according to the contemporary view of Scripture, God was the author. The other colophonic elements which Gevaryahu claims were transferred from the end of the text to the beginning are shown by Akkadian evidence to be inconclusive, since many are found both at the beginning and at the end of Akkadian texts. The author brings forward three other arguments for his position, all of which are refuted or at least shown not to be compelling. In one of these, concerning the original final position of the word הללויה based on a study of the LXX, two of the three examples given are erroneous and a careful study of the LXX and of the Dead Sea material shows that Gevaryahu's claims are not substantiated. It is argued, however, along with Gevaryahu, that most probably there has been some colophonic material lost from the OT source documents. In response to Gevaryahu's claim that his 'colophons' were added at some time removed from the original composition of the text, it is shown that there are other, equally possible, interpretations of the data and that in the final analysis the decision can only be subjective.

After a note of summary subscripts, attention is turned to headings. Titles of texts by naming of the text are shown to be non-existent in Hebrew but used in Akkadian. On the basis of the Akkadian examples, a proposal by Cazelles to find similar titles in Ugaritic texts is questioned.

The study of incipits also proved to be a valuable study. From Akkadian texts, including catalogues, which produce many examples of incipits, a selected collection of such incipits is made. Incipits are studied for their comparative length in different texts and for their relationship with catch-lines. It is shown that, since consideration of space often did not determine



the division of a text between different tablets, the position of the break is significant so that the catch-line has more importance than if it were simply random due to its starting a new section of text. It is also shown that catch-lines do not always correspond to incipits in length, so they serve different functions.

The Hebrew OT is also studied to determine whether it contains incipits as well. It is shown that Exod 15:21 does contain one, which is marked by the verb גנה. This is confirmed by other apparent incipits in other passages used in conjunction with this same verb. A proposal by Albright that Ps 68 is only a catalogue of incipits is not accepted, but an incipit in Ugaritic, identified by the use of the same verb 'ny (KTU 1.23, 21) is proposed.

As well as the more specific titles, there is also a study of more general genre and content markers. In a study of legal documents, it is shown that biforms ספר תורה / ספר תורת משה / יהוה אלהים are used to refer to Deuteronomy. Without the general ספר, some of the same descriptions still refer to that book, while others are used more generally of God's revelation.

In the area of inter-personal relationships, the term ספר ברית is shown to have a dual referent, in Exod 24:7 to Exod 20-23 and in 2 Ki 23:2 to Deuteronomy, based on the laws mentioned and a word comparison. An analysis of 'word' (דבר) in the OT confirms the compilation of Chronicles and Kings from separate sources. The descriptions amat, and to a lesser extent dibbu, are shown to be related to authoritative texts of some kind.

In yet another category, lists, it is possible to show some of the divisions within the semantic field in Akkadian. The OB qatu is replaced later by amirtu and kiširtu. The former refers to an itemised list of a number of different objects while the latter concerns a list of one kind of

thing, according to the available evidence.

With reference to the relationship between headings and subscripts, it is noted that both are descriptive but that colophons, in particular, are mainly for identification, with little note of literary matters. These are of more importance in summary subscripts and headings. These also have different functions. Colophons are for cataloguing or reference while the summary subscript is used to close one text section before moving on to another.

In Chapter II the study shows how the inner structure of a text can also be influenced by the scribe, particularly as regards the markers of textual division. Firstly the extra-textual scribal marks such as spaces, lines, dots, etc., are analysed on a number of linguistic levels in biblical Hebrew and other texts. Millard's examples of word division (JSS 15, pp. 2-15) are supplemented and his observations confirmed. Phrase level divisions are generally unmarked while sentence level divisions are shown to be noted, although not consistently, as early as the DSS of the biblical texts and even earlier in extra-biblical material. Some paragraph level divisions are indicated in Qumran biblical texts and also in other literatures.

Since the Bible does not have original documents from which to study extra-textual divisions, it is necessary to determine its divisions internally to see if they correspond to those extra-textual markers which occur in non-biblical texts. To do this, studies are undertaken of Genesis, Leviticus 1-7 and Amos as representatives of the narrative, ritual and prophetic genres.

Genesis (pp. 174-208) is studied on three levels - indications of discontinuity, including changes of time, subject and venue; framework indicators, including panel-writing and formulaic structure; and rhetorical devices such as inclusio and chiasm. Genesis corresponds to other narrative texts as well as to some language universals.

Ritual texts (Leviticus - pp. 208-237) are studied on two levels - that of the narrative framework in which the rituals are set, and that of the rituals themselves. The former corresponds quite closely to the division indicators noted in the study of Genesis, with some dissimilarities due to the prescriptive rather than the descriptive nature of the ritual texts. The second level is marked by casuistic introductions which further subdivide the text. In particular, this portion of the study includes a critique of Liedke's position concerning the uses of the particles **וְ** and **וְ**. As a control to the divisions proposed on internal grounds for Lev 1-7, a comparison is made with the Punic Marseille and Carthage Tariffs which, though somewhat later in date, are quite close in genre. The Tariff's divisions as extra-textually marked are gratifyingly close to those proposed on internal grounds for Lev 1-7. It is also argued in an appendix that the function as well as the form of the Leviticus passage corresponds to that of the Tariffs, mainly as a reference handbook for priests and worshippers. This would probably have been compiled early in the history of the cult rather than much later, as is proposed by source critics.

The prophetic genre exemplified by Amos (pp. 238-258) shows a narrative structure similar to that of Genesis in the kinds of division indicators used. Other markers are much more frequent (e.g. speech and commission, oracle and vision report formulae) due to the nature of the text as reported speech.

Based on a comparison of the extra-textual markers, which are the objective work of the scribes, and the divisions determined internally in the biblical text, it appears that one can be confident in supposing that biblical scribal practice compares quite closely with that of its surrounding environment.

The final chapter concerns scribal notations of various kinds,

mainly glosses and historical notes, and abbreviations. Those scholars who propose the existence of secondary glosses on subjective and arbitrary grounds are criticised. The scribal notes discussed are in two broad categories, those with a temporal relationship noted, showing the passage of time since the event described, and those without this explicit relationship. The former includes a study of aetiologies where a closer definition of 'aetiology' is proposed as well as a more open attitude toward the time relationship between the matter described by the aetiology and the aetiology itself. It is not self-evident that the aetiology is necessarily a fiction or even the cause of the text, favouring the Bright-Albright school rather than that of Alt and Noth. This area is only one part of the study of aetiology which deserves yet further research. Other notes using different temporal adverbs are also discussed.

In addition some other textual indicators have been examined.

The wāw explicativum is one example and further examples of it are proposed in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic and Akkadian. Another form of note is headed by a circumstantial clause in Hebrew and includes discussions of geography, onomastics, lexical items, customs and supplementary information. These are compared to a number of extra-biblical examples and it is shown that a note is not necessarily a later addition but could have been contemporary with the rest of the text.

The study of abbreviations was undertaken as a critique of G.R. Driver, who proposed a number of abbreviations for the MT (Textus 1 & 4). Lists of numerous abbreviations in Akkadian, Ugaritic, extra-biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician/Punic are compiled and analysed, showing that they have only a restricted usage, much narrower than that proposed by Driver. While one cannot

dismiss conclusively the existence of all abbreviations in the OT, their acceptance must be tempered with caution since there is often an equally valid interpretation of the textual peculiarities which might have led to their identification.

In general, this study has shown that the scribe did have influence not only on the external form of the text but also to some extent on its internal structure. He was able to annotate and possibly contemporize the text which he was writing, but it is still not possible to determine precisely whether his activities were always at some distance in time from the original composition of the text. Hopefully this study has shown that the scribe was more than a mere reproducer of material simply placed before him.

## Appendix A

### Some Colophons not included in Hunger Kolophone

In the preparation of this thesis, several colophons came to light which had not been included by Hunger in his study. While some of these have only been published subsequent to the completion of his work, others were apparently overlooked for some reason or other. Some also should be considered as colophons due to the information which they contain, even though they do not occur in their present form at the end of a tablet. Since Hunger only concerned himself with terminal colophons, these were not included in his list. Some of the additional colophons will be transliterated, while others will just be noted for further reference.

The format of this list will closely follow that used by Hunger without his translation. An addition to his material will be an indication in the right-hand margin of the colophonic elements as listed in pp. 19-20. These are repeated here for ease of reference.

#### a. Bibliographical information

1. Catchline, with the first line of the following tablet.
2. The number of the tablet in a series.
3. Title of the series or work.
4. Number of lines in the tablet.
5. Source of copy.
6. Scribal procedures, e.g. whether collated.
7. Kind of tablet, e.g. im.gíd.da.
8. Kind of text, e.g. pirsu, šud<sub>x</sub>, šir.nam.šub.
9. Contents.

b. Personnel involved in the copying procedure

1. Scribe.
2. Owner of the tablet.
3. Source of information.
4. Collator.
5. Instigator.
6. Dedicatee.

c. Miscellaneous information

1. Purpose of the copy.
2. Wishes of the scribe.
3. Prayers or invocations calling for curses/blessings.
4. Date of copy.
5. Disposition of copy.
6. Locale of copy.

OB

WO 9 (1978), p. 11.

Letter

Nippur

1) im.gíd.da <sup>d</sup>en.zu-ušēlī

a.7, b.2

2) iti kin.<sup>d</sup>inanna ud 10 kam

c.4

OECT V, 1

Kish

itu<sup>du</sup>.ku' u<sub>4</sub>.21.kam

c.4

im.gíd.da etel-ka-<sup>d</sup>nana

a.7, b.2

OECT V, 26

Kish

iti.šē.gur<sub>10</sub>.kú<sub>5</sub> u<sub>4</sub>.19.kam

c.4

im.gíd.da āli-banīšu

a.7, b.2

AfO 24 (1973), p. 36:122

Hymn

Nippur

[šed].bi mu.bi II šu.ši a.4

AfO 24, p. 55:116-118 (cf. p. 52) Disputation(?)

Nippur

116) ṛgi<sub>4</sub>.ba<sup>1</sup>giš.gi a.na gù mu.un.dé a.1117) ] ṛxxx<sup>1</sup>.bi.im ?

118) [1 šu].ši 50 5 a.4

MB

PRU V, pp. 463-464:11<sup>1</sup>

Musical

11) ann]ú zamaru ša nid-qibli ša[luzi ša dingir.meš ta ṛurhial

a.8, b.3

šu ṛammurapi b.2

Preceded by a ruling.

CT 51, 1:40-42<sup>2</sup>

J

Nuzi

40) SEAL ṛtuppu ana egir šūdūti a.8, a.5?41) SEAL ana <sup>uru</sup>nuzi a ? e.gal ṛX sa e42) na<sub>4</sub> <sup>I</sup>ku - arir abu ditannu ṛ šaṛer

CT 51, 2:16

J

Nuzi

16) xx annutum ša ṛzim ana haru [xxṛ-im a.7(?), b.2, c.1

Preceded by a space of three lines.

MA

Donbaz, NTA 4 (A 1724): r.1 - 5<sup>3</sup>

Assur

r.1 ana la mašae c.1r.2 šaṛirr.3 iti kalmartu c.4

.....

1. See IDBS, p. 611.

2. See AHW, p. 1259 sub šūdūtu 2 for other examples.

3. See Donbaz, NTA 4, pl. 5, 6, 15.



r.4 ud.19.kam limu

r.5 Id<sub>xxx-še-ia</sub>

Brinkman, W0 5 (1969-1970), p. 40:21-24 (edge)

Letter<sup>1</sup>

21) giš<sup>Id</sup> ag-na'id [

a.7, b.1/2

22) dumu <sup>2</sup>nadnâ

23) d<sub>innin</sub> unug<sup>ki</sup>

24) ušapû

NA/NB

BAM 401<sup>2</sup>

K

Nippur

diš na šà.meš-šú sar.meš-hu:22 pirsu din-ti

a.1,a.2,a.3

é dabibi

nu.al.til šātu šut pī u mašaltu ša pī ummanu

a.6,a.8,b.3

ša ša én šame ummaka

a.3

JNES 33, p. 337:28-33

K

Nippur

28) 24 pirsu baltu é dabibi nu.al.til

a.2,a.3,a.6

29) ul šut ka u mašalti ša ka ummunu ša ša

a.7,a.5,b.3

30) diš na murub<sub>4</sub>.meš.šú kú.meš-šú

a.1/a.3

31) diš na ina kaš-šú bad utabbakam

32) im.gi.da <sup>Id</sup>enlil-ka<sup>d</sup> lú.uš.ku <sup>d</sup>alim

a.7,b.2

33) lú dingir.bi <sup>d</sup>nusku.ke<sub>4</sub>

JNES 33, pp. 332-333:52-55

K

Nippur

52) šati šut ka u maš'alti ša ka ummanu ša ša

a.8,b.3

53) én munus utuddani im.gi<sup>d</sup>.da <sup>d</sup>50.kad

a.3,a.7,b.2

54) lú.uš.ku <sup>d</sup>enlil a ša <sup>Id</sup>enlil.mu-imbi ša.bal.bal

55) <sup>2</sup>lú.dumu.nun.na šumerû

.....

1. Parallels Keiser, BIN 2, 31; Stephens, YOS 9, 74.

2. See Civil in JNES 33, p. 336 for transliteration.

JNES 33, p. 230:1-7

E

Kalah

- 1) tuppi ṣaššurban-a ṣar<sub>4</sub> ṣár ṣar<sub>4</sub> <sup>kur</sup> aššur [...] a.8,b.2
- 2) a<sub>x</sub> ṣaššur-pap-mu é.šá<sup>d</sup> en.zu-pap.meš-ku<sub>4</sub>
- 3) ša.bal.bal man-gi.na ṣar<sub>4</sub> ṣár ṣār<sup>kur</sup> [aššurma]
- 4) šá ana an.šár u<sup>d</sup> x taklu nir.gál.zu [ ]
- 5) ṣār dingir.meš x x u<sup>d</sup> [ ]
- 6) mannu šá tum u lū šá šume sar ina nig kin x [ ] c.2
- 7) ul]u mu.ne ki mu.mu sar an.šár šumšu numun-šú ino [kur lihalliqu]<sup>1</sup>

BWL, pl. 32 DT 1:60

Wisdom

- 60) l[ugal ana dinim la iqul al.til a.3,a.6

Preceded and followed by rulings.

TIM IX, 32: left edge

E

Uruk (?)

- dub šá ta ugu<sup>hi</sup> giš.da gaba.ri ka.dingir.ra<sup>ki</sup> x a.8,a.5
- ilē-ti<sup>d</sup> an lú<sup>ś</sup> sú an.[tum] ?

TIM IX 54

Uruk (?)

- x 12 im d gíd-di.ku-ilu lú<sup>a</sup> ba é[ ] a.2,b.1

Preceded by a ruling.

Cagni Epopea, p. 132, no. 7

E

Uruk

- giš<sup>id</sup> xxx-x meš-[] b.2
- d am[ar.u]d(?) x-x [ ] ?
- xxx

Cagni Epopea, p. 131, no. 5

E

Kalah

- 1) dub 5-kám eškar<sup>d</sup> er[ra] a.2,a.3

Lines 2-8 as H 318

.....

CT 51, 142:43-46

B

- 43) inim.inim.ma šá gaba.ri X X X a.meš a.8  
 44) én é.ru.ru ki sabat ka a.3  
 45) gaba.ri.e ki[x] labirišu šařirma bar im a.6,b.1  
 Id<sub>en.tim.su e]</sub>  
 46) dumu šabbi maš.mas

Lines 43 and 44 preceded by rulings.

CT 51, 147:23-30

Op

Kouyounjik

- 23) ina šillašu kima rimī nari ina giš<sup>1</sup> túg gaz a.1  
 24) dub l kam e a ti la ka libbu u ana a.2,a.3  
alamdimmé  
 25) é.gal Id<sub>he-dù-dumu.uš</sub> lugal-šu lugal kur c.5  
 a[n.šár]<sup>ki</sup><sub>1</sub>  
 26) ša <sup>d</sup> ag <sup>d</sup> tašmetu geštu<sup>II</sup> dagal<sup>tu</sup> išrukušu  
 27) iḫuzu igi<sup>II</sup> namirtu nisiq tupšarrūti  
 28) ša ina lugal.meš alik mahrīa nin.me.ra  
šuat la iḫuzu  
 29) nemeq <sup>d</sup> ag tikip sa[ntakki ba] ašmu  
 30) ina du]b.meš ašt[ur / asniq abrema } a.6

CT 51, 150:r.1'

L

- r.1 ) dub 5 kam an[ a.2,a.3

CT 51, 157:r.1-4

Hemerology

Kouyounjik

- 1) du[b a.2  
 2) ana tamar[tišu c.1  
 3) ana zamar zi x [ c.1  
 4) mu pa ša a [

.....

1. See H 338:2 ff.

CT 51, 191:6-9

B

Kalah

6) é<sup>n</sup> id ga tu la uru ne ǵ

a.1

7) dub 4 kam.ma é[mēsirī

a.2,a.3

8) é.gal Id<sup>h</sup>he.dù dumu.uš<sub>2</sub> [

b.2

9) x x [

Preceded by a ruling.

CT 51, 194:6-8

B

Kalah

6) diš<sup>na</sup> panušu x nīn [

a.1 (?)

7) dub [

a.2

8) ana [

?

Preceded by a ruling.

CT 51, 195:1'-12'

B

Kouyounjik

1') ] x [

2') ] x [x

3') ] mā [x (x)

4') ]ru [x (x)

5') ]<sup>d</sup> [x(x)]

6') g]a tu [x

7') e]gir du ǵ

8') šu ru ma

9') šá<sup>d</sup>é.a

10') ]a ku ma

11') ǵ nu<sup>d</sup> [x

12') ] dub ǵ

CT 51, 221:1'-6'

1') ʔan.šár-dù d[umu.uš

a.2

2') dumu ʔan.šār-pap xx

3') ša<sup>d</sup>ag<sup>d</sup> še.naga ǵ

4') nēmeqišunu palkû[te

5') ana ti.la zi.meš-šu gíd.da u<sub>4</sub>.meš-šu c.1

6') ina im.gú.la é<sup>d</sup>ag an-šu [ c.5

CT 51, 209: 124-126

Description of statues

Kouyounjik

124) š<sub>2</sub> be gaba.ri ka.dingir.ra<sup>ki</sup> a.5

125) l]ugal kur<sup>kur</sup>aššur<sup>ki</sup> b.2

126) iš]rukuš

CT 51, 214:4.10-11

K ?

Kouyounjik

10) dub 7 kām-ma diš<sup>en</sup> bir [ a.2,b.?

11) šu<sup>š</sup>ki X X ia š ?

CT 51, 220:1'-4'

?

Kouyounjik

1') dub 4 kām zà.mí en.e[ a.2,a.3

2') ša d<sup>d</sup>ag d<sup>d</sup>tašmetu [ b.6

3') ša ina lugal.meš alik mahr[ia b.2

4') ina é.gal aššur as[ a.6

CT 51, 222:1'-4'

1') ġis.li].u<sub>5</sub>.um giš.mes.gań.na x a.5

2') ] dumu š<sup>š</sup>ga hūl d<sup>d</sup>[ b.?

3') ] mu šeš dumu š<sup>š</sup>mu -x[

4') d]umu Id<sup>Id</sup>amar.u[d

For other colophons, see CT 51, 88:r.4-8; 93:r.16-20;

97:r.5 -10; 156:r.11-36; 189:r.2-7.

Grayson, Historical Literary, p. 29 iv:10-14

H

10) ] l<sup>en</sup>tuppi a.2

11) ] munabtum b.?

12) ] šatir igi.tab a.6

13) ] x ša an

14) ] x

Preceded by a ruling; following missing,

Hunger, SbTU I, 2:4'-10'

H

Uruk

- 4') [amar]. <sup>d</sup>en.zu-na mu 10 [ ] 1 [xxxx] a.1  
šarutu ippuš
- 5') [gim] be-šú sar-ma baru u uppuš ga[ba-ri] a.5,a.6  
giš.d]a niġ.ga <sup>d</sup>[anu u antu]
- 6') [dub] <sup>Id</sup>60.šeš-gal<sup>ši</sup> u ša <sup>kur</sup>kidin - <sup>d</sup>60 b.2  
<sup>lu</sup>ša.bal.bal [<sup>kur</sup>é.kur-zakir] <sup>lu</sup>[maš.maš  
<sup>d</sup>anu u antu]
- 7') [<sup>lu</sup>šeš].gal<sup>i</sup> ša <sup>é</sup>reš unug<sup>ki</sup>-u qāt [<sup>Id</sup>anu]- b.1  
tin-su-[ dunu-šu]
- 8') [ana] aḫazišu giđ.da ud.meš-šú tin c.1  
zi.[meš.šú u kunnu suḫuš-šu sar-ma]
- 9') [ina unug]<sup>ki</sup> u <sup>é</sup>reš <sup>é</sup>enutišu ukin c.5
- 10') [unug]<sup>ki</sup> itu ne ud 21 kam mal šú 1 kam c.6,c.4  
<sup>kur</sup>anti'ukusu ša<sup>r</sup> kur.kur

Preceded by ruling.

Ibid., 14:4'-7'

B

Uruk

- 4') <sup>é</sup>n šimmat šimmat x[ a.1
- 5') im <sup>kur</sup>ba<sup>ša</sup>-a bukur <sup>Id</sup>inanna-mu-kam <sup>ša</sup>ba.bal.bal b.2  
e.kur-[zakir]
- 6') palih <sup>d</sup>anu <sup>d</sup>50 <sup>d</sup>ea la tum-šú ina mer[ešti] c.1,c.2
- 7') h]é.gur-šú sa t[um.šú

Preceded by double ruling; following missing.

Ibid., 28:12'-14'

M

Uruk

- 12') d]u sur.du.mušen ana XV-šú dib[ a.1
- 13') ] ša ka um.me.a ša diš ud<sup>ma</sup> ana <sup>é</sup>gig k[a a.5,a.3  
pirig du]
- 14') dub <sup>Id</sup>ana-ik]sur a <sup>lu</sup>sanga <sup>d</sup>nin-urta [ b.2

Preceded by ruling.

Ibid., 29:4.11'-12'

M

Uruk

11') im.gid.da <sup>ṭ</sup>x [

a.7,b.2

12') dumu ša <sup>Id</sup>[

Preceded by ruling.

Ibid., 30:4.11'-13'

M

Uruk

11') [ša k]a um.me.a

a.5

12') ]x lú x[xx]x

13') ] xx

Ibid., 31:39-41

M

Uruk

39) diš gig ka-šu sa<sub>5</sub> tin

a.1

40) šatu u šūt ka sa ka um.me.a ša diš gig

a.7,a.5,a.3

igi XV-šu ku-šu41) malsūt <sup>Id</sup>anu-iksūr dumu lú<sub>1</sub>sanga-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta

b.3

lú<sub>1</sub>maš.maš

Preceded by a ruling.

Ibid., 32:14-16

M

Uruk

14) ša 12 ša diš gig eme-šu sa<sub>5</sub><sup>at</sup> tin ša

a.2,a.3,a.5

ka u[mmāni]

15) malsūt <sup>Id</sup>anu-iksūr dumu ša <sup>Id</sup>ud.mu dumu

b.3

lú<sub>1</sub>san[ga <sup>d</sup>nin-urta]16) diš gig p;<sup>II</sup> XV-šu

a.1

Preceded by ruling.<sup>1</sup>

.....

1. Other colophons from Uruk are found in ibid., 33,38,39,43,44,45,47,48, 49,50,51,56,59,60,69,70,71,72,73,76,80,83,84,86,90,94,96,126.

Racc., pp. 5:29-6:1<sup>1</sup>

B

Uruk

29) dim.dim.ma annâ ša teppuš á.e` c.230) igi aḫu la dumu en garza nu igi<sup>mar</sup>31) ud.meš-šú lugúd.da.meš zu<sup>ú</sup> ana zu<sup>ú</sup>32) likallim la zu<sup>ú</sup> nu igi ina nì.gig<sup>d</sup> 60 b.6<sup>d</sup>enlil <sup>d</sup>idim dingir.meš gal.meš1) ud.meš-šú gid.da.meš c.1

Preceded by some four blank lines; followed by ruling. A colophon for the preceding ritual; followed by a list of equipment needed.

Ibid., p. 9:r.14-17

B

Uruk

r.14) nepeši ša šu<sup>II</sup> lu<sup>kà</sup>.lu<sup>2</sup> a.8r.15) enūma sippu kunu a.1

r.16-17) See H 103 K.

Lines r.14 and 15 are both preceded and followed by rulings.

Ibid., p. 9:r.1

B

Uruk

1) tuppi hiših̄ti ša šu<sup>II</sup> lu<sup>kà</sup>.lu a.7

Preceded and followed by a ruling. Following a ritual.

IV R 23, 1 iv:23-27

23) ki.šú.bi.im ša a.meš dug<sub>4</sub>-ma a.824) a.meš ina il-ma šiddi tunah25) enūma gu<sub>4</sub> ana é mummu tušēribu a.326) nēpeši nam.gala.kam27) libir.ra.bi.gim ab.sar.ām-ma ba.an.e` a.5

Rulings before lines 23 and 25: Space between lines 25 and 26.

.....

1. Recognized as a colophon in CAD K, p. 229 sub karû 1, 1'.

2. Used frequently following rituals, often in the course of a text rather than just at the end, e.g. Racc, pp. 7:17; 8:r.2; 9:20. Noted as part of a colophon in one place by Hunger (no. 109), but he is not consistent.



AMT 105:26-27

M

Kalah

26) diš na sag.du-š<sub>u</sub> gig.meš [ ] tab a.1  
ud.da diri

27) dub 3 kam-ma ana ugu-š<sub>u</sub> ne.ú.dan a.2,a.3

Boissier DA, p. 46:4.5'-7'

O

Kalah

r.5') be d<sub>u</sub> [ ] giš tukul s<sub>u</sub>h šá en[ a.1

r.6') l<sup>en</sup> man hu igi i bu u mu dan igi tum a.2,c.2

uru nam.uzu ana zu.a zu.a.an

r.7') nu zu.a nu igi<sup>mar</sup> niš.gig d<sup>d</sup>muati u<sup>d</sup>[ b.6

Thompson Rep. 200:r.4-10

Oa

Kalah

r.4) anniu ša p<sup>i</sup> dub [ a.5

r.5) ki<sup>Id</sup> muati-kudur-pab<sup>kur</sup> elam.ma<sup>[ki]</sup> ihpuni

r.6) ana<sup>mul</sup> udu.idim ina iti<sup>š</sup>u igi.lá úš.meš gal.meš a.3(?)

r.7) ana<sup>mul</sup> en.te.na.bar.lum ina e'-š<sub>u</sub> mullu<sub>h</sub>

r.8) si igi.kar(?) ki.lam gi.na

r.9) annuti ša<sup>d</sup> gu<sub>4</sub>.ud b.6

r.10) ša<sup>Id</sup> pa-mušēši b.1

AfO 24, p. 80:6-18

Commentary<sup>1</sup>

?

6) lú<sup>š</sup> maš.maš 'x' [ <sup>2</sup>

7) ina šertu [

8) be x x [

9) ša uši [

10) ša har.ra [

.....

1. Commentary (šātu) on grammatical texts from MSL 4 (Leichty, AfO 24, p. 78).

2. Leichty (ibid.) is uncertain if the next lines are a ritual or part of the colophon.

- 11) sa sag.ki [
- 12) ki na<sub>4</sub>.me sa.me.tar [
- 13) ri: ku [ <sup>1</sup> a.1
- 14) kata[
- 15) atta nu [
- 16) imgida Id <sup>7</sup> nin [ a.7,b.2
- 17) a sa <sup>d</sup> zalme- <sup>7</sup> x [
- 18) paliḥ <sup>d</sup> sid <sup>d</sup> [ c.2
- AfO 24, p. 84: 18'-23' Commentary<sup>2</sup>
- 18 ) ṣātu u šut ka u maš'[altu a.8
- 19 ) diš gig gim šub-ú im.gíd.da [ a.1,a.7
- 20 ) dumu Id<sub>30</sub>-nadin-šeš.meš lú <sup>7</sup> x [ b.?
- 21 ) <sup>d</sup> dumu.zi.zu.ab é dagal a tu <sup>d</sup> [
- 22 ) ur.me.me mu sig<sub>7</sub> ab<sub>x</sub> bú u en en.en [<sup>3</sup>
- 23 ) paliḥ <sup>d</sup> sid <sup>d</sup> utu amar.ud nu tum [ c.2
- Šurpu IV: 109-110 B Sultantepe
- 109) én áš.hu/gal<sub>5</sub>.la gin<sub>8</sub> lú.ra ba.ni.in.gar a.1
- 110) dub iv kám.ma šurpu a.2,a.3
- 111) im <sup>7</sup> suhuš.dingir lú<sub>7</sub> šab.tur.tur [ b.1

.....

1. Ibid., 'probably the catch line'.

2. Ibid., p. 82, a commentary on sa.gig.

3. Suggested by E. Reiner as a cryptogram for Arad-Gula mu-sa<sub>x</sub>-ap-pú-u bēl bēle and favoured as such by Leichty (ibid., p. 86).

- 1') [] ša<sub>1</sub> uš ta.àm m[u.bi.im a.2
- 2') libir.ra.]bi.gim ab.sar.àm ba.an.e a.5,a.6
- 3') tuppi <sup>Id</sup>im-mu-šeš <sup>lú</sup>dub.sar b.1
- 4') dumu <sup>Id</sup>ag-zuqup-gi.na <sup>lú</sup>dub.sar
- 5') šà.bal.bal gabbu-dingir.meš-kam<sup>eš</sup> <sup>lú</sup>gal.dub.sar

AAT 16:r.6'-13

Oa

- 6') igi gaba.a.meš u kur [ a.1
- 7') <sup>Id</sup>xxx-ah-mu dam.ma barati itta'dar b.?  
<sup>d</sup>mi.lugal [
- 8') dub 14-ma ud <sup>d</sup>en.íl é.gal <sup>Id</sup>du<sub>10</sub>.du a.2,a.3,a.5  
dumu.uš lugal-šú [
- 9') ša <sup>d</sup>ag <sup>d</sup>tašmetu geštu<sup>II</sup> rapaštu iš[rukūš
- 10') i]huzu igi<sup>II</sup> namirtu nisiq tup[šarrūti
- 11') ša ina] lugal.meš<sup>ni</sup>[alik] maḥria mamma šipru šuati la i]huzu
- 12') nemeq <sup>d</sup>ag [tikip] santakki mala bašmu ina dub.meš<sup>ni</sup> aštur  
asniq abre[ma]
- 13') ana tamarti šitassia qereb é.gal-ia ukīn

For 11. 9'-13' see Hunger, Kolophone, 319:3-8.

AAT 19:13-21

Oa

- 13) ana 20 ina <sup>itu</sup>bar ud 1 kám ina igi.lá-šú a.1  
gim dipari dir man rad [ ]at
- 14) dub 22 kám ud <sup>d</sup>[en.lí]l a.2,a.3
- 15) dub.gal <sup>Id</sup>hibani dumu.uš lugal-šú lugal a.7,b.2  
kur aš+šur<sup>ki</sup>

11. 16-21 = Hunger, 319:3-8.

AAT 31b:3'-9'

0a

- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| 3') 1 <u>ina</u> <sup>itu</sup> du <sub>6</sub> [   | a.1   |
| 4') dub 34 kam                                      | a.2   |
| 5') <u>ki</u> <u>pī</u> &                           | a.5   |
| 6') <u>tuppi</u> <sup>Id</sup> ag zu <sup>7</sup> [ | b.1/2 |
| 7') šà.bal.bal <sup>I</sup> gaba.bi [               |       |
| 8') <sup>itu</sup> bār ud 2 kām <u>tune</u> [       | c.4   |
| 9') mu 16 kām <sup>I</sup> lugal [                  |       |

For other colophons in AAT which are not recorded by Hunger, see

AAAt 11c:8-11; 12c:r.7-8; 13b:8-11; 17a:16'-18'; 17b:23-25; 24b:r.4'-6'; 25:32-33; 31a:25-27; 31c:5'-7'; 35b:14'-15'; 37:36-37; 38:21-23 and passim.



## Appendix B

### מלואים

The only sacrifice mentioned in the subscript in Lev 7:37-38 which does not correspond to one in Lev 6-7 is the מלואים. Rendtorff proposed that the מלואים is the offering described in Lev 6:12-16 since both refer to the ordination of priests (cf. p. 34, n. 2).<sup>1</sup> However, Lev 6:12-16 never refers to the sacrifice made by this name or by the verbal form מלא יד. Instead, the sacrifice is called, compared to, and included in the section concerning the cereal-offering (vv. 13,14,16<sup>2</sup> respectively). In the resumptive list in v. 37, it should also be noted that the מלואים is not placed after the cereal-offering, as was the ordination-offering in Lev 6:12-16, but rather after the guilt-offering. Since the order of the rest of the list in Lev 7:37 corresponds exactly to the order of the sacrifices in Lev 6-7, a divergence like this would not be expected if in fact the word referred to 6:12-16.<sup>3</sup> In addition, other passages in which the מלואים or the ritual of the מלא יד are explained (cf. especially Exod 29:1-37), an animal sacrifice is mentioned as the main constituent of the ritual. Also, it is bread made of flour (Exod 29:2), rather than the flour itself (Lev 6:13), which is to be

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1. Rendtorff, Gesetze, p. 33; cf. Meyrick, Leviticus, p. 102; Chapman and Streane, Leviticus, p. 41.

2. This verse, which is a general rule concerning cereal-offerings, would not have been separated from vv. 7-11, which are explicitly regulating the cereal-offering, unless the intervening verses also pertain to the same offering.

3. Other passages in Leviticus in which a summary statement includes a list are not consistent in the list's order in relation to the passage itself. Those corresponding in order are 8:2 related to vv 7,10,14,18,22,26; 13:59 to 13:47-48 and 15:32-33a to vv. 2,16,19. Not corresponding in order are 9:2-3 related to vv. 8,12,15,18,17; 11:46 related to vv. 2,13,9,20 and 14:54-57 related to 13:30-37, 47-59, 14:33-53, 13 passim (שם), (מספוח - 13:6-8), 13:24-28, 38-39 in each of which at least one element is out of order. Due to this lack of consistency, the order from the list in 7:37 is not of itself compelling, but in conjunction with the other points mentioned, the argument is strengthened.

eaten (Exod 29:32-33) and only burnt, as is required in the Leviticus passage (v. 14) if it has not all been eaten (Exod 29:34). This indicates that the מִלֶּוֹאִים in v. 37 does not in fact refer to Lev 6:12-16.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing else in Lev 6-7 which at all resembles the מִלֶּוֹאִים as explained in Exod 29, where it is a form of the peace offering (v. 28), which it precedes in Lev 7:37. Since each of the other named offerings in Lev 7:37 is included in the preceding two chapters, it suggests that a portion of the text has been lost or not included.<sup>2</sup> If that is so, the subscript is older than chapters 6-7 in the form in which they now appear since it reflects a condition of the text prior to that which now exists, possibly referring back to the original source document.

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1. Cf. Keil and Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 331 (referring to Exod 29); Kennedy, Leviticus, p. 69 ('intrusive'); Bertholet, Leviticus, p. 23 ('Einschub'); Noth, Leviticus, p. 65 (refers to Lev 8).

2. Rainey, Bibl. 51 (1970), p. 489: 'The inclusion of the consecration offering presupposes that a separate paragraph had existed in the original document from which this text has apparently been excerpted.'

## Appendix C

### The Tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt Formula

'Das Problem der tôledôt - Formeln bleibt nach wie vor undurchsichtig'.<sup>1</sup>

The main question concerning the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula (אלה תולדות X) is whether the demonstrative pronoun which is a part of it is anaphoric or precursive. There appear to be five lines of approach to this problem: (i) an analysis of the use of demonstrative pronouns generally in Hebrew, especially as to a possible distinction between their use with or without the copula, since on six occasions in Genesis the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula is preceded by one, and five times not; (ii) a more precise definition of the word tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt itself; (iii) a study of the content of the formula, that is the second half of the genitive construction, to see if it can be compared to the subject matter of the divided sections; (iv) an analysis of the rhetorical structure of the formula in its context might indicate a unity with either the preceeding or following sections; (v) a comparison with similar formulae in a like context in the Old Testament and other literature which might indicate a parallel of function and reference.

i. Hebrew personal pronouns which also serve as demonstrative pronouns, i.e. הן , הם , היא and הוא , are anaphoric.<sup>2</sup> The strictly demonstrative pronouns, however, i.e. אלה , זאת and זה , are both anaphoric and

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1. Rendtorff, Problem, p. 136, n. 11.

2. GK, para. 136; Williams, Syntax, para. 113.



precursive.<sup>1</sup> The singular pronouns can be either. For example in the clause זאת חורר 'this is the procedure for', which is similar in form and function to 'this is the book of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of (Adam)' in Genesis 5:1, it is also both a heading (e.g. Lev 6:2, 18) and a subscript (e.g. Lev 11:46; 12:7), so no progress can be made here.

ii. The word חולדת is a noun in the bound form from the H-stem of the root חלד which means 'to beget (as a father)', related to the simple stem 'to bear, bring forth (a baby)'. The noun occurs thirty-nine times in the OT.<sup>2</sup>

In Num 1 the word occurs twelve times in the context of a census,<sup>3</sup> in which the number of members of each tribe is given in the form, 'for the sons of X, their tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt according to their clans, according to their father's house (i.e., family), according to the number of their names [by head] . . .',<sup>4</sup> followed by the number. The phrases which follow the word tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt designate kinship units of decreasing size until the individual himself is reached.<sup>5</sup> These units comprise the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt, which BDB indicates by its translation

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1. Jouon, Grammaire, para. 143k; contra GK, para. 136a; Williams, Syntax, para. 113.

2. See Mandelkern, Concordance, p. 482 for references.

3. Vv. 20,22,24,26,28,30,32,34,36,38,40,42. Cf. also 1 Chr 7:2,4,9; 9:9 where they are in the context of a court.

4. לבני X חולדתם למשפחתם לבית אבתם במספר שמות [לגלגלתם] וגו'. The bracketed word occurs only in Num 1:20 and 22.

5. Johnson in Purpose, p. 64 states that the משפחה is smaller than the בית אב, but this is shown not to be in the case of the selection of Achan in Josh 7:14-18 in which the order is tribe (שבט), clan (משפחה), family (בית) and individual (גבר). These correspond to the Numbers census passages with the tribe being 'the sons of X' at one end, and the individual being the 'by head' (לגלגלתם) at the other; see Kegler, Geschehen, p. 22, who emphasises also the use of חולדת before a written rather than an oral tradition.

'genealogical divisions'.<sup>1</sup> In Num 1:18, the related verb תחילד occurs in the context of these same smaller units as preparation for the census (פקד) in such a way as to show that it indicates a separation into kinship groups: 'they gathered all of the congregation on the first day of the second month and separated them into kinship groups by their clans according to their families, by the number of names . . . by head'.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted from these verses that the genealogical subdivisions designated by tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt in these passages are progressive from largest to smallest.

The other occurrences of the noun tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt are not in the context of a census but, apart from the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae for the moment, are generally connected with a list of names, in the form לתולדתם, 'according to their tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt'. Cassuto has interpreted it to mean, 'in the order of their birth'.<sup>3</sup> For example, Gen 25:13 reads 'And these are the names of Ishmael's sons, by name and according to their tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt: Ishmael's firstborn is Nebayot, then . . .'.<sup>4</sup> Here the order of presentation does apparently represent the order

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1. P. 410. The LXX translation of תולדת by κατα συγγενειας is taken by Kegler (Geschehen, p. 22) to indicate an interpretation by the translators of the word being one of the sociological subgroupings of kinship, that is being the next largest group after מבית אב and משפחה, since these two are both translated into the Greek with κατα, indicating the prefixed ל in the Hebrew, which does not occur before תולדת. Therefore, the Hebrew form of the three words would indicate that תולדת of a different order than the others.

2. זאת כל-העדה הקהילו באחד לחדש השני ויחילדו על-משפחתם לבית אבתם במספר שמות...לגלגלתם This is also probably the meaning of the noun in 1 Chr 26:31 where it occurs in the elliptical phrase לחלתיו...לחברוני לחלתיו לובות...למפתחיו לבית. Although not a census, it, like Num 1, is an administrative text.

3. Referring to Exod 28:9-10, in Exodus, p. 374 and followed by Childs, Exodus, p. 517. There is no name list in the immediate context, however, so the meaning cannot be derived from these verses. Cf. also Johnson, Purpose, p. 22 who interprets the lists of the 'tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-book' as being comprised of first-born.

4. ואלה שמות בני ישמעאל בשמתם לתולדתם בכור ישמעאל נביות וג'.

of birth since the first-born is explicitly indicated and appears first. Other lists with the word tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt are also by the order of birth,<sup>1</sup> while, in still others, the relationship is one of importance, using ראש , 'head', rather than of birth, showing an extension in meaning.<sup>2</sup> In each case the ordering was of those designated by the suffixed pronoun 'their tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt'. Also, those referred to by the pronoun 'their' are the starting point rather than the result of the series. This parallels the context of the word in the census contexts already mentioned (p. 364, especially n. 4) as regards the anaphoric suffixed pronoun referring to the starting point of the series, which in each case follows a strict order of progression, as far as is able to be determined.

The tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae in Genesis, Numbers (3:1) and Ruth (4:18) do not occur in the context of a census but in the context of lists of names, with the exception of Gen 2:4. This is preceded, however, by a list of events enumerating the stages of creation.<sup>3</sup> While this is a metaphorical departure

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1. The order Gershom, Kohat and Merari is always followed when the sons of Aaron are listed together as equals (e.g. Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 1 Chr 5:27; 6:1; 23:6). In 1 Chr 6:39ff Kohat is before Gershom (v. 47) since the interest is in Aaron and his descendants, who are Kohatites, but Gershom still precedes Merari (v. 48). For other examples of lists designated as being by tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt which are by order of birth, see 1 Chr 1:29 (paralleling Gen 25:3); 5:7; 9:9 (cf. v. 5). This could also be what is meant in Gen 10:32. The descendants of Noah's sons are not listed by the order of his sons' births in Gen 10 apparently again because the continuing emphasis is on one of the sons, Shem, so his list is placed last of the three even though he is the eldest of the three. The other two brothers are also placed in reverse order, giving the youngest and least significant, at least as regards length of the list of descendants, first place. This results in the three brothers' descendants being presented in reverse order to the order of names in 10:1a, thus forming a chiasmus. The descendants, however, apparently are listed by order of birth themselves; cf. v. 15 in which the first of Canaan's sons listed is the firstborn ( בכור ).

2. 1 Chr 8:28 where birth order is still a criterion (see vv. 1-2); 9:34.

3. The tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt formula is related to the preceding section because the phrase שמם וארץ refers to the preceding section; cf. further below, pp. 371-372.

from the strict concept of birth, it is still a chronologically ordered account (day one, second day, etc.). The aspect shared by all of those occurrences in non-census contexts is that of a progression in time, or, metaphorically, of importance. Whether horizontally, within one generation, or vertically, within succeeding generations, the first listed person or event is the first to appear or the most important. The idea of tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt as 'order of appearance', has priority over the strict idea of birth.<sup>1</sup> The word itself, however, cannot be said to indicate whether the person or event in the second part of the formula is the starting or the ending point of this order, although it was noted that the genitival suffixed pronoun in the earlier passages indicated the start of the series (p./<sup>366</sup>). It does not appear acceptable at this stage to translate the word by 'origins',<sup>2</sup> since this pre-judges the question in favour of the formula being seen as a subscript. 'History' is more neutral since it can mean either that up to the person named or that from him.<sup>3</sup>

iii. The hypothesis has been proposed that the person named in the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae either owned or wrote the text of the preceding sections to which the formulae refer.<sup>4</sup> This could be possible, it is argued, since in no case

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1. See the translation of Gen 2:4a as, 'this is the sequence of the origins . . . ' in Johnson, Purpose, p. 15.

2. E.g., P. J. Wiseman, Clues, pp. 41-42 and passim; Speiser, Genesis, p. 65.

3. E.g., Cassuto, Genesis, p. 96 and passim. The translation 'this is what came of . . . ' has been proposed by B. Holwerda (see the English summary of his book Schepping en Paradijs (Kampen, 1966) in M. H. Woudstra, 'The Toledot of the Book of Genesis and their Redemptive-Historical Significance' in Calvin Theological Journal 5 [1970], p. 187) but this prejudges the matter in the opposite direction.

4. P. J. Wiseman, Clues, pp. 45 and 56-64; cf. also Harrison, Introduction, p. 547.

did the person named die until after the events recorded in the section.

Harrison alleviates the problem of claiming that Adam, the first man, could write by reading his name as the generic 'mankind' in Gen 5:1.<sup>1</sup> The question still remains, however, why the formulae occur where they do, since, for example, Noah, mentioned in a formula in 6:9, does not die until 9:29. Why did he not record the flood also, which surely must have been the most noteworthy event in his life? Also, Jacob's tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula in 37:2 is before the Joseph story in which he was ultimately reunited with his favourite son, yet this major event does not occur in this document owned or written by him, if the formula serves as a subscript.

Is there any other explanation of the noun which forms part of each formula which might answer this point? The first formula (2:4) concerns the creation of the heavens and earth, which is a merism for 'the cosmos, everything'.<sup>2</sup> The verbal noun ( בְּהִבְרֵאֵם ) refers to the creation of this totality, as is shown by the anaphoric pronominal suffix 'in their creation'. It shows that the sequence of events leading to everything coming into existence, 'their being created', is meant rather than something arising from it, i.e., the merism is the end point rather than the beginning point.<sup>3</sup> This creation account is recorded in 1:1-2:3. The following account of creation does not appear to be the referent of this first formula, since it does not contain mention of much that was created, e.g., the heavens themselves or the plants.

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1. Ibid., p. 548.

2. Gordon, World, p. 35, n. 3; Scharbert in Wort, p. 54. It could not refer only to the literal heavens and earth. If it did, these would not have been mentioned, but rather light, since it was the first things created, or else man, as the last.

3. Contra Cross, Myth, p. 302.

These were included in the first account.

In 5:1, the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt is that of DTN, which could either be a proper name<sup>1</sup> or 'mankind'.<sup>2</sup> It appears to be a play on these two meanings, since DTN in 4:25 clearly refers to the one man, Adam, as does 5:3 while in 5:1b-2, it refers to mankind. If tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt is understood as 'the order of appearance' leading to Adam, the location of the formula would not make sense, since both the preceding and subsequent passages go far beyond Adam. If taken as 'the appearance of mankind', the pronoun could refer equally well in either direction, with either list being a token of man's start.<sup>3</sup> If Adam is the starting point, the formula could serve either as a heading or subscript.

In 37:2, the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of Jacob, only the preceding section directly concerns Jacob.<sup>4</sup> With the meaning of 'Jacob's appearance' it could also only serve as a subscript. The formula must also summarise a larger section than just the previous chapter, the genealogy of Esau, which has two of the formulae itself, or else there would be no apparent reason for Jacob's name to appear.

The tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula in 10:1 labels a passage concerning the sons of Noah. The summary statement at the end of the chapter (v. 32), declares that the preceding passage concerns the families of Noah's sons.<sup>5</sup> This is what Chapter 10 expounds, how the 'families' of these men came into being, most probably,

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1. E.g. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, pp. 468, 481 and Kaiser, Introduction, p. 106.

2. Scharbert, Wort, p. 46; Harrison, Introduction, p. 548.

3. See Chapter I, pp. 42-49.

4. See Speiser, Genesis, p. 280.

5. Kitchen, Life, p. 6, refers to 10:32 as a colophon. It must be a subscript if it concerns the families of Noah's sons, since the following chapters only concern one son, Shem.

as we have noted already above (p. /, n. 1) 'in the order of their birth' - לְהוֹלִידָם. In that case, the  $t\acute{o}l^e d\acute{o}t$ -formula must refer to the preceding section, in which the origins of the sons are given (6:10; cf. 5:32 in an earlier section).

In Genesis 36, there are two  $t\acute{o}l^e d\acute{o}t$ -formulae concerning Esau (vv. 1, 9), separating the chapter into two units. They are not mere repetitions of each other, however, since for each there is a different apposition, describing Esau. In the first he is called Edom (עֵדוֹם), an echo of his being so named in 25:30. The previous passage thus contains an account concerning Esau, including his birth (25:20ff) as well as his renaming. None of this is included in the following section, so the  $t\acute{o}l^e d\acute{o}t$ -formula concerning Esau as Edom appears to serve as a subscript for the preceding section.

The second apposition (36:9) gives Esau a different function, i.e., the father of Edom, this time a designation of the nation.<sup>1</sup> The first stages in his becoming the progenitor of this people are given in the preceding verses where sons are born and he moves to the hill country of Seir. This is then recapitulated in the following verses, as well as preceding for a further generation. In this case, the  $t\acute{o}l^e d\acute{o}t$ -formula seems to refer to the preceding section, but also serves as a heading for the following genealogy, with 'the father of Edom' serving as the transition (cf. p.373).

iv. A rhetorical device which is used to set a text section apart from its context is the inclusio, a repetition of vocabulary or phraseology at the beginning and end of a textual unit.<sup>2</sup> An example of this is seen in Gen 1:1

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1. So S. R. Driver, Genesis, p. 314; cf. Skinner, Genesis, pp. 430-431.

2. See Lundbom, Jeremiah, pp. 16-17.

and 2:4. In 2:4a ('these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of the heaven and the earth in their being created'), all of the non-formulaic vocabulary, i.e., all except the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula itself, is a repetition of that found in 1:1 - 'created' and 'the heavens and the earth'. The latter pair is significant because they occur in the same order in both verses. While this order is that most frequently used in the Old Testament, it is deliberately used here, as can be demonstrated by looking at the second half of 2:4, in which the order is reversed, to indicate a dichotomy between the two halves of the verse. This inclusio thus marks the seven day creation account as a separate unit from the following section.<sup>1</sup> Brinktrine mentioned this as an early interpretation of the formula as a subscript. This interpretation was altered by the time of the LXX, since there the word order is reversed so as to parallel that in 2:4b, making it a heading for the following section.<sup>2</sup>

Cassuto has pointed out that 'heavens and earth' in 2:4a, which is the normal order for this word pair, forms a chiasm with 'earth and heavens' in 2:4b. This latter order is so rare (only occurring here and Ps 148:13) that the change is probably deliberate. This chiasm indicates the literary unity of the verse.<sup>3</sup> Commentators, even those who interpret 2:4a as referring back to the preceding section, place 2:4b as an introduction to the following text section. The scribe has thus used two rhetorical devices, inclusio and

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1. The inclusio is recognised by Muilenburg, JBL 88 (1969), p. 9; Dillmann, Genesis I, p. 93; Gunkel, Genesis, pp. 102-103; Skinner, Genesis, pp. 40-41; S. R. Driver, Genesis, p. 19.

2. J. Brinktrine, 'Gn 2,4a, Überschrift oder Unterschrift?', BZ 9 (1965), p. 277.

3. Cassuto, Genesis I, pp. 98-99. Kitchen, Orient, p. 118, n. 18, also asserts the unity of this verse; cf. also Bibl. 54 (1973), p. 447. Hillers (CBQ 40, 328) notes that the order also forms a chiasm in Ps. 148.



chiasm, to integrate the narratives into one unit, with 2:4 serving as the transition verse.<sup>1</sup> The tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula does indicate a division but only between two parts of a larger unit.

Another apparent example of inclusio is found in 36:1 and 8. In v. 1, the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula of Esau ('these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of Esau') is in apposition to 'he is Edom', with all of the non-formulaic vocabulary repeated in v. 8, 'And Esau settled in the hill country of Seir; Esau, he is Edom'. The repetition of the name Esau shows that the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula itself is involved in the inclusio, and not just the apposition since the name is part of the formula. Since, as was shown above (p. <sup>370</sup>/ ) the formula is anaphoric, its use also in an inclusio indicates a literary device binding together the sections preceding and following the formula. A similar inclusio involving the formula and an apposition is also found between the next verse, 'and these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt of Esau, the father of Edom, in the hill country of Seir' and the last verse of the chapter, 'he is Esau, the father of Edom'.<sup>2</sup> Edom here refers to the nation of which Esau was the progenitor, as S. R. Driver has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> in contrast to v. 1, in which Edom was another name for Esau (cf. 25:30).

There is a constant awareness of this ambiguity of the name Edom in this chapter, as well as of the fact that all Edomites were not descended from Esau. These lists of 'tribal chiefs' (עֲלֵי־בָּרִיךְ) in vv. 15-18, 40-43 are labeled as being related to Esau (vv. 19, 40) while the other ethnic groups

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1. Cf. Trudinger, EQ 47 (1975), pp. 67-69, in which he interprets 2:4bff as a summary of the Genesis 1 creation narrative.

2. P. J. Wiseman noted all three of these inclusio, as well as others, in Clues, p. 51.

3. Genesis, p. 314.

are separately labelled, the Horites, vv. 20-30 and the pre-Israelite Edomite kings, vv. 31-39. These are all included, however, under the 'fathership' of Esau by this use of inclusio.

A study of the rhetorical structure of Chapter 36 shows that this form of analysis must be used with extreme caution. 36:1 was shown on rhetorical grounds to relate to the following verses, while on the grounds of the content of the  $t\hat{o}l^e d\hat{o}t$ -formula it was shown to be a subscript for the previous text section (pp. 370, /; cf. the same polyvalence for 2:4a, pp. 371, /). A cause of ambiguity in this still developing field of rhetorical criticism is the possibility of more than one interpretation of the same set of facts. In addition to the inclusio, which is defined and exemplified above (pp. 370-371) there is another rhetorical device called the echo which is 'a repetition of a key word, phrase or clause which has occurred in a previous unit'.<sup>1</sup> While the inclusio serves to separate units by showing their beginning or end, the echo serves to unite sections into a larger whole.<sup>2</sup> Until a more precise control of the field of rhetorical criticism can be attained, it thus appears better to use the results of it only for support of conclusions reached through other means.

v. There is a device in other Semitic languages of the last two millennia BC which fulfills the same function of labelling texts as do the  $t\hat{o}l^e d\hat{o}t$ -formula in Genesis. P. J. Wiseman, followed by others, postulated that the  $t\hat{o}l^e d\hat{o}t$ -formulae were subscripts similar to the Akkadian colophon.<sup>3</sup> As well

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1. McEvenue, Style, p. 38.

2. Ibid.; cf. P. J. Wiseman, Clues, p. 51.

3. Ibid., p. 39; Harrison, Introduction, p. 544; de Witt, EQ 48 (1976), pp. 197-211. See Chapter I A, pp. .

as a number of other features, these subscripts often contain an indication of the genre of the document, e.g. 'incantation'.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae is like this genre designation. The Akkadian colophons do not generally introduce the genre with a demonstrative pronoun, as did the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formula, although there are exceptions.<sup>2</sup> Colophons and other text descriptions have been discussed in Chapter II.

### Conclusion

This study of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae has shown that the formula itself is ambiguous as regards its referrent. There is no one way of determining in which direction it points, but each occurrence must be studied in its textual context. Although the formulae cannot be shown to invariably serve as either headings or subscripts, they are always division markers which serve to set apart distinct sections of the text. Also, because of their use throughout Genesis, they can be said to provide a unifying framework for the book.

This conclusion has importance for the interpretation of the text of Genesis in several aspects. One important area is that of the integrity of the text as it now stands. Since the use of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae in their present positions can be understood, it is not necessary to emend the text as some do.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See pp. 94ff.

2. E.g. CT 30, 43 r.6 - annû mukallimtu ša [. . .] 'this is a commentary of [X]'; STC 2, 58:12 - annû u<sub>4</sub>.u<sub>1</sub>.d<sub>4</sub>.a 'this is an explanatory word list'.

3. E.g. de Witt, EQ 48 (1976), 196-211. Cf. also those who see Gen 2:4a as originally being at the beginning of Ch. 1 and subsequently shifted to its present position, e.g. Dillmann, Genesis, 93-94; cf. Driver, Genesis, p. 19; Skinner, Genesis, pp. 40-41. For a list of other authors who hold this interpretation, see B. Jacob, Das erste Buch der Tora, Genesis (Berlin: Schöcken, 1934), p. 71.

There are also implications as regards the documentary hypothesis. In light of the alleged stereotyped prose and systematic form cited as a characteristic of P<sup>1</sup> it is noteworthy that the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae are in two forms, i.e. 'these are the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt' and 'this is the book of the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt' (5:1), challenging the stereotype, and that it is not in a fixed position with reference to the text to which it is joined, challenging its systematic nature. Some of this tension has been noted by others in that Gen 2:4a, to be consistent with the interpretation of the formula as a P heading, should be immediately followed by the next P section (Chapter 5) but this has its own formula.<sup>2</sup> Others say that the formula is not part of P at all.<sup>3</sup> There is also no rigid pattern which emerges when the hypothesized sources are compared in relation to the tôl<sup>e</sup>dôt-formulae. These formulae, credited to P, are neither consistently preceded nor followed by P sections. Nor is there any more of a pattern which emerges when the formulae are seen to be ambiguous. While usually the text section referred to is P, it can also be J (see 6:9 referring to the previous J section). This indicates that the formulae under discussion were part of the common literary stock that could be used when and as needed rather than as a fixed P idiom which could only be used at certain places in the text.

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1. So S. R. Driver, Literature, p. 129.

2. Cf. Johnson, Purpose, p. 21.

3. Cf. P. Weimer, 'Die Toledot-Formel in der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung', BZ 18 (1974), p. 84; Kaiser, Introduction, p. 106.



## Appendix D

### iškaru 'series'

Akkadian iškaru (MA giš.gàr; NA/NB éš.gàr) is used to refer to texts from the MA to NB periods.<sup>1</sup> In an MA catalogue it refers to collections of songs (zamārū; KAR 158:1,9,17,42 and passim) but it is only in this text that songs are given this designation. In later periods, éš.gàr refers to literary works, each of which are recorded on more than one tablet, therefore giving rise to the translation 'series'. The word is not restricted to any one genre but appears in catalogues and colophons referring to such texts as literary works (e.g. Gilgamesh - Haupt Nimrodepos 51:18; KAR 115 r. 6; <sup>d</sup>Nisabu u giš.gisammar - Rm 618:12 in Bezold, Catalogue iv, p. 1627; Etana - Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318 b:5), lexical texts (e.g. ur<sub>5</sub>.ra - ADD 1053 ii 7; izi = išatu - RA 10 [1913], p. 223 r. 19; an = anum - CT 24, 46a:2, cf. l. 7 - giš.gàr; diš a = nāqu - Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318a:18), omen texts (e.g. ud.an.en.ílil - RA 28 [1931], p. 136, Rm 150:10; LBAT 1528 r.9 and passim; zāqiqu - ADD 869 iii 10, iv 3; alamdimmu - Kraus Texte 51:4), manuals for ritual personnel (e.g. mašmašutu - KAR r. 4; āšiputu - ibid.: 1; bārutu - TCL 6,4 r. 16; kalutu - IVR 53 iv 30); and also some works that are identified by personal names, possibly of the author or editor (e.g. sidu - ADD 943:8; Lambert 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318a:8 = Enlil-ibni<sup>2</sup>).

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1. See CAD I/J, p. 249 sub iškaru 6 for references; cf. AHW, p. 396 sub išakaru(m) 6.

2. See the note on this line on pp. 315-316 for further references as well as for the identification of Sidu with Enlil-ibni.

Unlike the various text headings, the 'éš.gàr indication does not occur at the beginning of a text, but is rather used in references either in another text or in a colophon or catalogue.

## Appendix E

### An Annotated List of Sumerian, Akkadian and Hebrew Catalogues

Ancient scribes were not only interested in copying texts, but also in preserving them. This involved storing them as well as maintaining ready access to them.<sup>1</sup> Lists of literary compositions have been recovered from the Ancient Near East. These are of various types, some listing works of one particular literary genre and others listing a miscellaneous collection of texts, at times there being no obvious reason why the texts are recorded together.

An earlier study of Sumerian catalogues was undertaken by Hallo.<sup>2</sup> After much of the present research was completed, I was able to obtain RLA 5 which contains a comprehensive discussion by J. Krecher entitled 'Kataloge, Literarische'.<sup>3</sup> Since my research has collected several additional catalogues to those which he studies, I feel that this list still has its place.

This appendix will list the texts as far as possible according to their genre, internally arranged according to the date of the composition of the catalogue. Also noted will be the publication data, and provenience where available.

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1. See pp. 12-13 above.
2. JAOS 83 (1963), pp. 167-176, referred to here as Hallo, with the member noted if he included a catalogue in his list.
3. RLA 5, pp. 478-485.



I Genre	II Date	III Publication Data	IV Provenience
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Omens

<u>enūma</u> <sup>d</sup> <u>anu</u> <sup>d</sup> <u>enlil</u> +	NA	Weidner, <u>AfO</u> 14 (1942), pl.	Assur
<u>šumma</u> <u>ālu</u> + others		III (obv) + KAR 394 (rev) <sup>1</sup>	
<u>šagig</u> (medical)	NA	Kinnear-Wilson, <u>Iraq</u> 18 (1956), pl. XXIV + <u>idem</u> , <u>Iraq</u> 19 (1957), p. 49, ND 4358 + <u>idem</u> , <u>Iraq</u> 24 (1962), pp. 55ff. <sup>2</sup>	Nimrud
<u>alam.dīm.ma</u>	NA	Kraus Texte 51, 52 <sup>3</sup>	Niniveh
Dreams	NA	ADD 980	Niniveh
<u>barūtū</u>	NA	CT 20, 1 <sup>4</sup>	Niniveh
Terrestrial and celestial	NA	<u>JNES</u> 33, pp. 199-201	Niniveh
<u>šumma</u> <u>ālu</u>	NA	CT 39, 50, K. 957 <sup>5</sup>	Niniveh
<u>enūma</u> <sup>d</sup> <u>anu</u> <sup>d</sup> <u>enlil</u>	Sel	Weidner, <u>AfO</u> 14, pl. I-II <sup>6</sup>	Uruk
Astrology	Sel	TCL 6, 12	Uruk
Exstispacy	Sel	TCL 6, 6	Uruk

Hymns, Prayers & Laments

<u>en<sub>x</sub>.du</u>	Ur III	Hallo, <u>JAOS</u> 83, p. 171 <sup>7</sup>	
	OB	TuM 3, 54 <sup>8</sup>	Nippur

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1. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
2. Ibid.; see Hunger SbtU I, p. 47, no. 38.
3. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
4. Ibid.
5. CAD A<sub>II</sub>, p. 302 sub arrabu a.
6. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
7. See discussion in ibid., pp. 167-176; Hallo, No.1; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484.
8. Hallo, No.5; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484.

I Genre	II Date	III Publication Data	IV Provenience
83 ir.šēm.ma	OB	Kramer, <u>StOr</u> 46 (1978), pp. 163-164 <sup>1</sup>	
76 ir.šēm.ma <sup>d</sup> Inanna	OB	<u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 165-166 <sup>2</sup>	
7 ir.šēm.ma <sup>d</sup> Ninšubur			
balag, šir.nam.šu.ub, ir.šēm.ma	OB	VAS 10, 216 <sup>3</sup>	
Sumerian & Akkadian	MA	KAR 158 <sup>4</sup>	Assur
ir.ša.hun.gá psalms	NA	Langdon, <u>RA</u> 22 (1925), p. 123 <sup>5</sup>	Niniveh
ir.ša.hun.gá psalms	NA	Langdon BL 138 <sup>6</sup>	Niniveh
Liturgical series	NA	Langdon BL 103 <sup>7</sup>	Niniveh
en.zu sá.mar.mar			
Balag	NA	IVR 53 + Langdon, <u>RA</u> 18 (1921), p. 158 <sup>8</sup>	Niniveh
	NA	Langdon BL 115 <sup>9</sup>	Niniveh
Balag	NB	<u>'Atiqot</u> 4 (1965) no. 99 <sup>10</sup>	

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1. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
2. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
3. Hallo, No.8; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
4. Krecher, RLA, p. 485.
5. Krecher, RLA, p. 485.
6. Hallo, No. 15, 16; Krecher, RLA, p. 485.
7. Hallo, No. 13; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
8. Hallo, No. 11; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
9. Hallo, No. 14; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
10. Ibid.

Rituals & Incantations

Incantations	OB	Wilcke, <u>AfO</u> 24 (1973), pl. III (right) <sup>1</sup>	
2 rituals & incantations	NA	BMS, p. xix (col. I) & <u>LSS</u> NF 2, p. 110 (col. II) <sup>2</sup>	Niniveh
<u>mašmašu's</u> manual (incantations & omens)	NA	KAR 44 <sup>3</sup>	Assur
<u>namburbi</u>	NA	Caplice, <u>Or</u> NS 34 (1965), pl. XV, K. 2389 <sup>4</sup>	Niniveh
<u>namburbi</u>	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , pl. XVI, Rm 2, 178 <sup>5</sup>	Niniveh
<u>namburbi</u> & rituals	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , K. 9718 <sup>6</sup>	Niniveh
<u>namburbi</u> & rituals	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , pl. XV, K. 10664 <sup>7</sup>	Niniveh
<u>namburbi</u>	NA	<u>Or</u> NS 36 (1967), pl. I, Rm 323	Niniveh
<u>namburbi</u>	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , pl. XV, K. 3277 <sup>8</sup>	Niniveh
	NA	Kraus, Texte 51 + 52 <sup>9</sup>	Niniveh
<u>šurpu</u>	NA	LKA 91	Assur
<u>ša'zi.ga</u>	NA	LKA 94 <sup>10</sup>	Assur
<u>bīt rimki</u>	NA	Myrhmann, PBS 1/I, 15	Niniveh

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1. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Krecher, ibid., is unsure whether this is a catalogue. So also KAV 130, 142; KAR 381; UET 6/II, 198; Or 36, pl. I, 13.

7. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485; Biggs Šaziga, p.11.

I Genre	II Date	III Publication Data	IV Provenience
<u>bit rimki</u>	NA	Zimmern Beiträge II, 26 + Laessøe Bit Rimki, p. 21	Niniveh
<u>maqlû</u>	NA	VAT 13723 + <sup>1</sup>	
<u>namburbi</u> & omens	Sel	Hunger, <u>SbTU</u> I, 6 <sup>2</sup>	Uruk
<u>Myths</u>			
Lugal.e +	OB	Langdon, BE 31, 9	Nippur
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
	Ur III	Bernhardt, TuM 3, 55 <sup>3</sup>	Nippur
Hymns, epics, myths, laments, school satires	OB	Kramer, <u>BASOR</u> 88, p. 12 <sup>4</sup>	Nippur
Laments, hymns, dialogues	OB	STVC 41 <sup>5</sup>	
Epics, hymns, proverbs	OB	TCL 15, 28 <sup>6</sup>	Nippur (?) <sup>7</sup>
School satires, hymns, myths, word lists	OB	UET V, 86 <sup>8</sup>	Ur
Myths, hymns, epics dialogues	OB	UET VI/1, 123 <sup>9</sup>	Ur
Literary letters, hymns	OB	UET VI/1, 196 <sup>10</sup>	Ur

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1. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485 for references regarding publication; Biggs Šaziga, p. 11.

2. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.

3. Ibid., p. 484; Hallo, No. 2.

4. See BASOR 88, pp. 14-16 for discussion; Hallo, No. 6; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484.

5. Recognized as a catalogue and studied by Hallo, StOr 46 (1978), pp. 77-80.

6. See Kramer, BASOR 88, pp. 17-19; Hallo, No. 7; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484.

7. See Kramer, BASOR 88, p. 17, n. 24.

I Genre	II Date	III Publication Data	IV Provenience
Hymns, wisdom	OB	Cohen, <u>RA</u> 70 (1976), p.130	
	MB	Bernhardt, TuM 3, 53 <sup>1</sup>	Nippur
Omens, rituals	NA	ADD 869 <sup>2</sup>	Niniveh
Omens, commentaries	NA	ADD 944 <sup>3</sup>	Niniveh
Lexical lists +	NA	ADD 1053 <sup>4</sup>	Niniveh
Epic +	NA	ADD 943 <sup>5</sup>	Niniveh
Medical, commentaries	NA	Köcher BAM III, 310 <sup>6</sup>	Assur
Omens, commentaries	NA	Langdon, RA 28 (1931), p. 136 - Rm 150	Niniveh
Fables, dialogues	NA	Bezold Cat. 4, 1627 <sup>7</sup>	Niniveh
Lexical, god lists, epics, omens	NA	Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 318, K. 14067 + <sup>8</sup>	Niniveh

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8. Hallo, No. 4; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484; Civil, AS 20, p. 145, n. 36.
9. See Kramer, RA 55 (1961), pp. 169-176; Hallo, No. 3; Krecher, RLA 5, p. 484.
10. Ibid., p. 484.

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1. Ibid., p. 485; Hallo, No. 9.
2. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; CAD S, p. 135 sub serretu A, 4, a.
5. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

I Genre	II Date	III Publication Data	IV Provenience
Lexical, god lists, epics, commentaries	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , K. 13684 +	Niniveh
As above	NA	<u>Ibid.</u> , K. 11922	Niniveh
	NA	Strassmaier AV 8297, K. 1409	Niniveh
Epics, omens, incantations	NA	Lambert, <u>JCS</u> 16, pp. 60-63 <sup>1</sup>	Niniveh
Myths, incantations	NB	T. Pinches, 'Assyriological Trifles by a Handicapped Assyriologist', <u>Oriental Studies</u> ... <u>P. Haupt</u> (Baltimore/Leipzig, 1926), pp. 216-217. <sup>2</sup>	

Other texts have been suggested as catalogues but their being such is not certain. In the OT, Psalm 68 was suggested to be such by Albright,<sup>3</sup> but this has not been universally accepted (see above, pp. 86-87 ). Other Akkadian catalogues have also been proposed.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.

2. Ibid.; Biggs Šaziga, p. 11.

3. HUCA 23, pp. 1-39.

4. E.g. UET 6/II, 198 (tentative); KAV 130 (tentative), 142; KAR 381 (tentative); Or 34, pl. XVI, 5 (tentative); see Caplice, ibid., pp. 114ff; Or 36, pl. I, 13 (tentative; see Caplice, ibid., pp. 8-9) were suggested, sometimes tentatively by Borger (Handbuch III, para. 94) but greeted with caution by Krecher, RLA 5, p. 485.



## APPENDIX F

### A Collection of Some Mesopotamian Incipits

As has been noted above (pp.69-93 ), reference is made in some Semitic texts to another text by the use of an incipit rather than by recording the entire text. Literary catalogues contain a number of these incipits (see Appendix E, pp. 379-385 for a list of catalogues), in addition to some which are encountered in the course of more narrative texts. Incipits also occur in colophons, either referring to the next tablet in a series or else to the series itself. Another important source of incipits is the beginning of literary works themselves, each of which, by definition, consists of an incipit.

Some incipits will be given below. Since this thesis does not attempt to be a detailed study of Mesopotamian literature, only a representative selection will be given. As mentioned above (p.72 ), an exhaustive catalogue of incipits would be invaluable for the study of cuneiform literature and this might assist in the start of such a work, but it does not at all claim to reach this goal.

The table is arranged to give information concerning

- I The incipit itself
- II The publication of the text having the incipit
- III References using the incipit
- IV Genre of the text referred to by the incipit
- V Location of the incipit, as per the following abbreviations:
  - Cl = Incipit found in a colophon
  - Ct = Incipit found in a catalogue
  - H = Hunger, Kolophone
  - I = Incipit as initial line of a text
  - Rf = Incipit in a text referring to a different text



At times there are slight variations in the incipits. These are indicated by placing any material not found in some uses of the incipit in square brackets, i.e. [ ]. The references in col. III in which the incipit is used with this additional material are also enclosed in square brackets. References in col. III which have been restored by a modern editor are enclosed in rounded brackets, i.e. ( ).

I Incipit	II Text	III Reference	IV Genre	V Location
[diš] a-naqû	MSL (forthcoming) <sup>1</sup>	H 106:1, (120:11), 125:1, 126:1, 128-130:1; [Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue'; p.314:18]	Lexical list	C1, Ct
a.a.meš <sup>✓</sup> [tu] libir.ra.meš <sup>✓</sup> [tu]		H 47:2; [Zimolong, Ass. 523, p. 22] <sup>2</sup>		C1
a a.ab.ba za. gin.gun.a	Šurpu 9: 58-69		Incantation	I
a.ab.ba hu.luh.ha		H 494:1		C1
a.ba me.en.meš		KAR 44:7		Ct
a.dug.ga.gur.ra		BASOR 88, p. 16:62		Ct
a.gal.gal.la ebur su su		H 457:1		C1
agalu annitu ina šemēšu	K. 8592:r.6ff in BWL, pl. 53 <sup>3</sup>	Bezold Cat.4, 1627:7	Fable	Ct
alam.dim.mu.ú	K.105; K.13818	JCS 16, p. 60:2; KAR 44:6; Kraus Texte 51:4'; BWL, pl. 55:r.25'; <sup>4</sup> Iraq 18 (1956), pl. 25, ND 4358:r. 23 <sup>5</sup>	Omens	Ct, C1 Rf

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1. Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 316.
2. Referred to in Hunger Kolophone, p. 31, n. 4 but unavailable to me.
3. See the discussion in BWL, p. 210.

I	II	III	IV	V
alam= <u>lānu</u>		Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 314:17	Lexical list	Ct
an.[na] e.lum um.ma		Racc, p. 67:10; [IVR <sup>2</sup> 53:10]	Incantation	Rf, Ct
an.gal.ta ki.gal.šè	JCS 5 (1951), pp. 1ff.	BASOR 88, pp. 15:41; 18:34; H 4:3; UET VI/1, 123:27	Epic (Ištar's descent)	Cl, Ct
an.gim diṁ.ma	Hrozny, MVAG 8/V, pp. 164ff, Tabl. I <sup>1</sup>	BASOR 88, p. 18:44; UET VI/1, 123:42; Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 315:4; JCS 16, p. 60,:3	Epic (Return of Ninurta)	Ct
an.na á.gál.la mí.dug.ga im.ra.bi.šú an.ki.a aš.e.ne nir.gál.la	Racc, p. 71: r.21ff	Racc 71:4.19-20	šú.íl.lá prayer	Rf
an.né nam.nir.ra	UET VI/1, 36-37; van Dijk La Sagesse, pp. 43ff; Kramer, Tablets, pp. 162-163	BASOR 88, pp. 15:29; 18:31; UET VI/1, 123:22	Dialogue (Summer & Winter)	Ct
d <sup>d</sup> ašar lú.dùg.git		Langdon BL, pl. LX i:r.5	ér.šèṁ.ma prayer	
ašiš [ ] gana <u>luqbika</u>	BWL, p. 70: 1ff	K.10802:1 in BWL, pl. 19	Wisdom (Theodicy)	Ct
ašši gi.izi.la <u>puṭur limnu</u>	Šurpu Appendix r.31-39	Šurpu I:8	Incantation	Rf
bar.ra umun e.ta.ma.kil an.nam		Racc, p.7:22	ér.šèṁ <sub>4</sub> .šà. hun.gá lament	Rf

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4. alam.diṁ. <ma> .a

5. See CAD A<sub>I</sub>, p. 332 sub alamdimmu b for other references.

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1. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 198 and II, p. 113 for parallels.

I	II	III	IV	V
be <u>izbu</u>	Leichty Izbu	ABL 223:7; 668:6, 8, r.1; H 452:2	Omens	Rf, C1
bur.š <u>u</u> .ma.gal		<u>BASOR</u> 88, p.15: 15; UET VI/1, 123:2	Hymn	Ct
du <sub>13</sub> .du <sub>13</sub> . UET VI/1,64 <sup>1</sup> la u <sub>4</sub> .da		UET VI/1, 123:32	Dialogue (Enki and Enki- <u>he</u> gal)	Ct
dumu.é. dub.ba.a		UET V, 86:24; VI/1, 123:33 <sup>2</sup>		
d <sup>ea</sup> d <sup>ud</sup> u <u>JNES</u> 33 (1974) d <sup>amar</sup> .ud p. 274:1-22 <u>minū annīma</u>		BBR II 26 v: 78-79	Incantation	Rf
é.e.ḥu <sup>š</sup> . an.ki	SEM 51-53 <sup>3</sup>	UET V, 86:18; VI/1, 123:14; <u>BASOR</u> 88, pp. 15:9; 17:9	Hymn	Ct
<u>bīt(é) mēširi</u>	<u>JNES</u> 33, pp. 183-196 <sup>4</sup>	<u>ZA</u> 36 (1925), p. 216:r. 9; CT 51, 191:r. 7; KAR 44:11		
é mu.bi.gim	Kramar SLTN 79:1-28	<u>BASOR</u> 88, p. 18-63	Šulgi hymn	Ct
en.e on.na ka mu.ni.in.su.ub	UET VI/1 68; Kramer, <u>Istanbul</u> I, 62 N:4049		Hymn	I
en.e kur.lú. ti.la.šè	UET VI/1, 49- 54 <sup>5</sup>	<u>BASOR</u> 88, pp. 15:10; 17:10; UET V, 86:14; VI/1, 123:9	Epic (Gilgameš and Huwawa)	Ct

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1. See also the fragment N.4398 in RA 55 (1961), p. 175, n. 3. For parallels see Borger, Handbuch I, p. 18, 42-43; II, p. 12, 42 and 43.

2. Lists with the number 3, showing three extant works with this incipit known to the catalogue compiler; see p. 73 above.

3. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 47 and AfO 24 (1973), pp. 19-46 for parallels.

4. A collection of references to different copies of parts of this series rather than an edition of the series itself.

5. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 247 sub JCS 1 for parallels.

I	II	III	IV	V
en.e niġ.du <sub>7</sub> .e	TCL 16, 72 <sup>1</sup>	BASOR 88, p. 14: 3; UET VI/1, 123: 30 (?)	Myth (Creation of the Pickaxe)	Ct
d <sub>en</sub> .ki d <sub>ud</sub> d <sub>[xxx]</sub> za.dé.dé		Racc, p. 5:22		Rf
d <sub>en</sub> .líl. diri.šè	TCL 16, 9 <sup>2</sup>	BASOR 88, p. 18: 59 (?); H 6:2; UET VI/1, 123:51 (?)	Hymn	Cl, Ct
d <sub>en</sub> .líl sù.de.šè	Falkenstein Götterlieder 1 <sup>3</sup>	BASOR 88, p. 14:5; UET VI/1, 123:16	Hymn	Ct
en.me.lám.sù.sù	Sjoberg Mond- gott 6 <sup>4</sup>	JAOS 83, p. 172 iii: 32	Hymn	Ct
d <sub>en</sub> .zu-idinnam	UET VI/1, 98f	UET V, 86:7 (?), VI/1, 123:7	Prayers	Ct
ú <sub>eri</sub> .an.na = ú <sub>maltakal</sub>	CT 14, 21-22 <sup>5</sup>	H 56:2, 321:1, (513:1)	Lexical list	Cl
gu <sub>u</sub> .gal gu <sub>u</sub> . mah ú ki.us kù.ga	IVR 23, 1:9-16	Racc, p. 4:9	Incantation	Rf
íd.lu.ru.gú.gin <sub>8</sub>	Šurpu Appendix: 22'-r.4	Šurpu 1:6	Incantation	Rf
ka <sub>5</sub> .a	BWL, pp. 186-209	JCS 16, p. 61:r.12	Fable	Ct
ludlul bēl nēmeqī, mukallimtu		Bezold Cat.4, 1627: 19	Commentary	Ct
lugal.e mu.ni niġ.du <sub>7</sub> .šè	Castellino, Šulgi, pp. 30ff	BASOR 88, pp. 15:26; 17:17	Hymn	Ct

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1. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 155, 72 and II, p. 84, 72 for parallels.
2. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 154, 9 and II, p. 84, 9 for parallels.
3. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 117 and II, p. 64 sub SGL I for parallels.
4. Proposed by Hallo, JAOS 83, p. 173.
5. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 542 and II, p. 286.

I	II	III	IV	V
lugal.[e] ud me.lám.bi nir.gál	Geller, <u>Lugal-e</u> <sup>1</sup>	BASOR 88, p. 17: 18; H 61:1; 138a: 1; JCS 16, p. 60: 3; UET VI/1, 123:41 <sup>2</sup>	Myth	C1, Ct
<u>ša</u> tu on above	K. 11922:3-4 <sup>3</sup>	Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Cata- logue', p. 314:3	Commentary	Ct
lugal.gi.na man <u>dannu</u>	CT 13, 43; 46, 46 <sup>4</sup>	Bezold Cat. 4, 1627:22; Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 314:7	Legend	Ct
lugal.me.én am.á.pàd.da	Castellino, <u>Sulgi</u> , BASOR 88, p. 19:64 pp. 248ff		Hymn	Ct
me.e u.mu.un. mu ši.šim		Racc, p. 7:23	Incantation	Rf
mu.lu ná.a	Racc, pp. 26:27 -28:7	KAR 60:r.1	Incantation	Rf
mur.gud= <u>imrú=ballu</u>	MSL 5ff	Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 314:2; H 549:1	Lexical list	C1, Ct
ša.ga.a.ni	BE 30/I, 3 <sup>5</sup>	UET VI/1, 123:26		Ct
sag.ba= <u>māmītu</u>	MSL 1	Ai. VI iv:23 in MSL 1, p. 104	Lexical list	
sa.gig.ga	Labat TDP	BWL, pl. 55; r.25'; Omens ADD 980:3; JCS 16, p. 60:2; KAR 44:6		Ct, Rf
šumma ki XV <u>gab</u> batu ana erin <sup>ni</sup> sub <sup>ut</sup>	TCL 6, 3; CT 30, 14	Hunger, <u>Spätbabylonische</u> I, 80:103	Omens	

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1. See UET VI/1, p. 2 where approximately eighty texts are mentioned as containing parts of this myth; see Borger Handbuch I, pp. 147-148; II, pp. 81-82 for parallels.

2. Without the bracketed postpositive.

3. Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 316.

4. See ZA 42 (1934), pp. 62ff; Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 316.

5. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 418; II, p. 4 sub Alster, Dumuzi's Dream for parallels.

I	II	III	IV	V
tùr.ra.na	AS 12 <sup>1</sup>	BASOR 88, pp. 15:32; 18:27; UET VI/1, 123:44	Lament over Ur	Ct
ulutim= <u>nabnītum</u>	MSL (forthcoming)	H 426:1, 453:1; Lambert, 'Late Assyrian Catalogue', p. 314:3	Lexical list	Cl, Ct
ur.sag.e	Sjoberg Mond- gott I, pp. 148ff <sup>2</sup>	UET VI/1, 123:47	Myth (Journey of Nanna to Nippur)	Ct

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1. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 245; II, p. 136 for parallels.

2. See Borger Handbuch I, p. 483 and A.J. Ferrara, Nanna Suen's Journey to Nippur (Rome, 1973) for parallels.



## APPENDIX G

### A Form-critical Study of Division Markers in Some Ritual Texts

The Carthage and Marseille Tariffs have been called prescriptive texts, presenting the administrative procedure for presenting the sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> To fulfill this function, they must have been placed in a temple as a guide to the officiants, offerers, or both. Each section, starting as it did at the beginning of a new line with the offering material presented first, would be readily located when reference to the text was made. Lev 1-7, in contrast, has been called descriptive rather than prescriptive.<sup>2</sup> There appears, however, to be some ambiguity as to what constitutes descriptive and prescriptive texts. From a study of Near Eastern ritual parallels, Levine cites the prefix conjugation, with its narrative use and its significance as indicating a customary action as marking descriptive rituals,<sup>3</sup> in contrast to a jussive or imperative which would mark prescriptions. Instead of the imperative mood in Lev 1-7, a casuistic form with prefix conjugation verbs is used showing possibilities rather than necessities. The commission marker דבר אל, 'to speak to X', is the same in Lev 1-7 as it is in the prescriptive passage Exod 25-31.<sup>4</sup> What appears to be present in Lev 1-7 is a description, shown by the division markers to be a part of a narrative of the giving of

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1. Levine, Presence, p. 119; cf. his JCS 17 (1963), p. 105 and Rainey, Bibl. 51 (1970), pp. 485f. for the terminology.

2. Ibid., 486-487; cf. Fishbane, HUCA 45 (1974), p. 31, where he wrongly states that Rainey classifies them as prescriptive. In n. 26 on the same page, Fishbane cites the wrong page numbers, which should be 485-493.

3. Levine, JAOS 85 (1965), p. 313; idem., JCS 17 (1963), pp. 105-111.

4. Exod 25: דבר אל-בני ישראל (2); דבר אל-משה לאמר: (1); designated 'prescriptive' by Levine in JAOS 85, p. 307.



prescriptions for various sacrifices. These prescriptions would then be the same genre as the tariff texts and would serve the same function, i.e. the regulations of the cult in specific cases, rather than describing a specific set of rituals as they happened on a given occasion. The purpose of Lev 1-7 would thus also be to serve as a reference for officiants and offerers. If this were so, it could be expected to be similar in external form to the tariffs, with each paragraph, marked by division or content markers in the MT, starting a new line on the display text so as to facilitate rapid reference.

There is internal evidence that reference is made to the various sacrificial regulations recorded here both within Lev 1-7 as well as in other parts of the Old Testament. For example, the full ritual is given for the **עלה** in Lev 1, but rather than repeating some of the same particulars in detail during the ritual instructions for the other sacrifices, reference is made to the details. The priest is to slaughter the goat for a sin offering **במקום אשר-ישחט את-העלה**, 'at the place where he slaughtered the burnt offering' (4:24; cf. vv. 29, 33; 6:18; 7:2 [for the **אשם**]). Several other such references are also made in these chapters, including that to the removal of the fat, kidneys and part of the liver from the peace-offering ox (Lev 3:3-5) included in the instructions for the sin-offering ox (Lev 4:10, 26, 31) and of the peace-offering sheep (Lev 3:9-10) in the instructions for the sin offering sheep (Lev 4:35); that to the sin offering for the chief priest (Lev 4:3-10) in the description of the sin offering for the whole congregation (Lev 4:20); that of the priestly portion of the meal offering (Lev 2:10) in the instructions for the sin offering (Lev 5:13). Also, Lev 7:7 refers either to the priestly portion of the sin offering (Lev 6:19) or else to the entire sin offering ritual (Lev 6:17-28). In addition to these internal references to other

rituals, there is also in Lev 6:10 a reference to the holiness of the sin (Lev 6:18, 22) and guilt (Lev 7:1, 6) offerings.

Lev 5 is of particular interest. One who cannot bring either a lamb or a goat for a sin offering is told to bring two birds. The ritual concerning one of these birds is given in detail in 5:8-9. וְאֵת-הַשֵּׁנִי יַעֲשֶׂה עֹלָה כַּמִּשְׁפֹּט, 'but the second he will offer for a burnt offering according to the established procedure',<sup>1</sup> (v. 10; emphasis mine). This indicates that the requisite ritual instructions (Lev 1:14-17) were available for immediate reference.

Specific mention is also made to the ritual instructions of Lev 1-7 in other parts of Leviticus. For example, in a description of the ritual, Aaron burnt the bull of the sin offering outside the camp כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת-מֹשֶׁה, 'as Yahweh had commanded Moses' (Lev 8:17) referring to the prescriptions given in 4:11-12. Descriptive accounts of actual instances of sacrifice which refer to the prescriptions in Lev 1-7 are Lev 8:21, referring to the burnt offering rituals of Lev 1:10-13, Lev 8:29, 31, 36 referring to the מִלֻּאִים ritual which was apparently dropped from Lev 1-7 (see Lev 7:37, Exod 29:26-28 and Appendix B, pp. 361-362 ), Lev 9:7,10 referring to the burnt and sin offerings in Lev 1:3-13 and 4:3-26 respectively, and Lev 10:15 to the priestly portions of the peace offering in Lev 7:34. Prescriptive passages referring to the Lev 1-7 rituals are Lev 14:13, which refers to the place of slaughter of the sin and burnt offerings mentioned in Lev 4:4 and 1:3 respectively. In Lev 9:16, the same phrase כַּמִּשְׁפֹּט, 'according to the established procedure', is

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1. כַּמִּשְׁפֹּט: more must be meant than simply the ritual itself, since this is indicated in 7:7 by the word תּוֹרָה (כַּחֲטָאתָ כַּאֲשֶׁר תּוֹרָה אֶחָד לָהֶם). This phrase is used to refer to already established procedures in Exod 21:9, 31; 26:30; Num 9:14; 2 Ki 17:40; Ezek 42:9; 2 Chr 4:7, 20.

used in reference to the burnt offering in Lev 1:10-13 as was found in Lev 5:10 (see p. 397 ). Lev 1-7 presents the principal, detailed ritual instructions for all five offerings, i.e. burnt, cereal, peace, sin and guilt.

When describing the daily and holiday sacrifices in Num 28-29 reference is made to the offerings by name, i.e. עלה - 28:3, 10, 11 and passim, מנחה - 28:5, 9, 12 and passim, נסך - 28:7, 8, 14 and passim. For each of these the quantities offered are given but the ritual instructions are not. There must have been available on some other record, such as Lev 1 for the עלה and Lev 2 for the מנחה. There is no procedure extant for the נסך offerings. The reference to a ritual source such as Lev 1-7 is further supported by other, correlated terminology which is found both in Numbers and Leviticus, i.e. קרבן in Num 28:2 corresponding to Lev 1:2, 10, 14; 2:1; 3:1; אשה in Num 28:3, 6, 8 to Lev 1:9, 17; 2:2, 3, 9, 16 and passim; ריח נחוח in Num 28:6, 8 to Lev 1:9, 17; 2:2, 9; 3:5, 16 and לחם in Num 28:2 to Lev 3:11, 16.<sup>1</sup> Reference is also made specifically to Lev 7:38 in Num 28:6 regarding the time and place of the first ritual: עלת תמיד העשיה בהר סיני, 'An eternal burnt offering, which was done on Mount Sinai ...'.

This Numbers passage has a similar format to Lev 1-7 starting with a speech clause serving as a division marker (28:1, וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר), cf. Lev 1:1 and passim and pp. 211-213 ), and a commission clause (צו את-בני ישראל לאמרת אליהם; cf. Lev 1:2 and passim, especially 6:2 for the verb and pp. 213-216 ). These are followed by separate sections, each clearly indicated by content markers so that the appropriate section could be easily

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1. Reference is made by name to the חטאת כפרים (Num 29:11) which could be the full name of the חטאת of Lev 4 since that is the function of the sacrifice there, cf. vv. 20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10.

located at the time when it was needed.<sup>1</sup> Its nature as a work of reference is also indicated by the names which draw attention to similar passages with the same rituals, e.g. in Num 28:8 - כַּמִּנְחָה referring to v. 5 and כִּנְסָךְ referring to v. 7 (cf. p. 397).

In addition to these connections in ritual and cultic texts, the various sacrifices are not only named but also referred to in other literary genres. For example, in 2 Chr 29:25 it is stated that the arrangements of the officiants and musicians for a ritual was 'according to the ordinances of David and Gad, the king's visionary, and Nathan the prophet, for the ordinance<sup>n</sup> was from Yahweh through his prophets'. This is part of an account of the reforms of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29-31).<sup>2</sup> The songs sung were also 'in the words of David and Asaph, the visionary' (2 Chr 29:30). Since these musical parts of the ritual followed an already existing form, preserving traditions from some three centuries previous, they could have followed a known text. Similarly the sacrificial rituals may have followed an established, written procedure, although this is not explicit. The offering ritual source texts did not originate during the monarchy since no procedure is given in the few cases where David offers sacrifice (e.g. 2 Sam 6:17-18), nor even earlier during the period of the judges (cf. Jdg 6:26; both texts are attributed to D) for the same reason. The text consulted to determine the requisite ritual

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1. Num 28:3 - לִיהוּהָ, general content marker for Num 28-29; the first occasion for sacrifice is given at the end of that verse, i.e. עֲלֵה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, but the other occasions are given at the start of their respective section, i.e. v. 9 - בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁבִיעִי, 11 - וּבְרֵאשִׁי חֲדָשִׁיכֶם, 16 - וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן, 26 - וּבַיּוֹם הַבְּכוּרִים, 29:1 - וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי לְחָדֶשׁ, 7 - וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי הַזֶּה, 12 - וּבַחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לְחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי, which leads a festival of seven days in which each day's rituals are headed יוֹם שְׁנִי, יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי, etc. in vv. 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35.

2. Record is made of various sacrifices, i.e. חֲטָאת - 2 Chr 29:24, עֲלֵה - 29:24, 27<sup>2</sup>, 28, 31, 32<sup>2</sup>, 34, 35<sup>2</sup>; תּוֹדָה (cf. Lev 7:12-15) - 2 Chr 29:31<sup>2</sup>; נִדְיָב (cf. Lev 7:16-17) - 2 Chr 29:31; שְׁלָמִים - 29:35.

procedure could well have been a copy of that now in Lev 1-7. The same could be said for other occurrences, e.g. Ezek 45:17-25, in which the sacrifices are described, but without any ritual instructions being given, it being assumed that the tradition for these was available elsewhere.

Since these same sacrificial rituals were prepared over many centuries, a standard form must have existed. Although probably orally taught and practised, there most probably existed a written form for reference, like that of the Marseille and Punic Tariffs cited above (pp. 230-236) as well as other ritual texts.<sup>1</sup> As was shown above (pp. 396-400) reference was in fact the function of Lev 1-7, which has been called a 'Handbook for Priests'.<sup>2</sup> The divisions indicated by the markers mentioned above would facilitate the function of the passage as a reference tool by making the specific ritual needed more easily accessible to those who needed to consult it.

### Implications

Not only does this study elucidate the structure of Lev 1-7 and related ritual texts, as well as assisting in a form-critical interpretation of the Leviticus passage by indicating its Sitz im Leben, there are also important implications which arise concerning the relative dating of the ritual instructions within the Old Testament corpus. By definition, such cultic ritual texts as have been under discussion are attributed to P. Their

.....

1. For some of this large corpus see the bibliography in Borger, Handbuch III, par 77, 85-87, 91 (Akkadian).

2. Rainey, Bibl. 51, p. 487.

form being that of an instruction manual for the performance of the various procedures, indicates that they would have been formulated early on in the existence of the particular cultic practises which they describe in order to ensure that the future officiants had available the accepted traditions. This could have circulated orally rather than in a written form. This genre of practical, prescriptive ritual texts, as the basic groundwork for the cult, would appear logically to be needed as early as, or perhaps even earlier than, a theological explanation or interpretation of the cult or its origins. It would most certainly have preceded those cases in which rituals were performed with reference to the instructions in Lev 1-7, and probably also those in which rituals are described or prescribed without the details being given (cf. Jdg 6:26; 2 Sam 6:17-18 and 2 Chr 29:25, 30). This would date the P document relatively earlier than the D document, thus adding material to the debate concerning their relative dates.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See e.g. Y. Kaufmann, תולדות האמונה הישראלית (4 vol.; Tel Aviv, 1937-1956, being translated as History of the Religion of Israel [New York, 1977]; cf. the abridgement ed. by M. Greenberg, The Religion of Israel from its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile [Chicago and London, 1961]), ad loc; R. Abba, 'Priests and Levites', IDB 3, pp. 886-889; M. Weinfeld, Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research (1969), 121; M. Haran, 'The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions', Bibl. 50 (1969), pp. 258-263; Weinfeld, Deuteronomy, ad loc; A. Hurvitz, 'The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology', RB 81 (1974), p. 54 n. 53 and M. Haran, Temples, ad loc.



## Appendix H

### The Structure of Amos as Indicated by Division Markers

In Chapter II (pp. 238-258) is given a prose account of divisions as they are marked in the book of Amos. This Appendix seeks to present these in a more visual, schematic way so as to synthesize the material presented in the text. From this presentation it is possible to note which markers correspond to each other as opening and closing indicators of the same passage, as well as those passages which are not marked at one or the other margin by a division indicator. These lacking indicators are usually compensated for by some other means, such as an unmarked section being known to end because it is immediately followed by a beginning marker, by panel construction, by a change of persons, etc.

The horizontal spacing is arranged so as to try to provide an indication of the different levels of the text sections indicated by the markers, much in the same way as an outline where subsections are indented under major sections. From time to time supplementary information of some concern to the division of the text is included, e.g. cause-effect notices.

1:1 Change of person, time and genre

#### 2 Speech marker

[ 3 Oracle report formula	}	Panel
5 Final oracle report formula		
[ 6 Oracle report formula	}	Panel
8 Final oracle report formula		
[ 9 Oracle report formula	}	Panel
[10]		



[ 11 Oracle report formula } Panel  
[12]

[ 13 Oracle report formula } Panel  
[ 15 Final oracle report formula }

[2:1 Oracle report formula } Panel  
[ 3 Final oracle report formula }

[ 4 Oracle report formula Panel  
[5]

6 Oracle report formula

9 Circumstantial clause

10 Circumstantial clause

11 Oracle formula

[12] (Cause)

12b Quotation formula

[13 (Effect) Emphasis

[16 Oracle formula

[3:1 Audience formula

[ 1b Quotation formula

[2]

[3-5 Questions beginning with an interrogative particle]

[6-8 Questions in other forms]

9 Modal audience and speech formula

[10 Oracle formula (Cause)

[11 1b + oracle report formula (Effect)

[12 Oracle report formula

- [ 13 Audience and oracle formula
- [ 15 Oracle formula

#### 4:1 Audience formula

- [ 1b Quotation formula

- [ 2 Oath formula
- [ 3 Oracle formula

- [4 Imperative - change of voice]
- [ 5 Oracle formula

- [ 6a Adverb בל
- [ 6b Oracle formula

- [ 7 Adverb בל
- [ 8 Oracle formula

- [9a]
- [ 9b Oracle formula

- [10a]
- [ 10b Oracle formula

- [11a]
- [ 11b Oracle formula

- [ 12 Action report formula
- [12b]

}

1st person

- [ 13a Emphasis (הנה)
- [13b]

}

3rd person

#### 5:1 Audience formula

- [ 3a כי + oracle report formula
- [3b]

## 4a יָצַח + oracle report formula

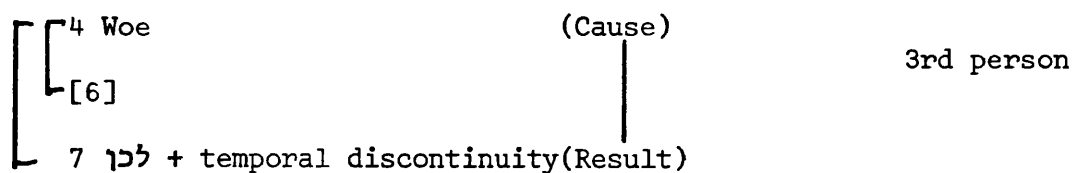
[ 4b-5a Imperative	}	2nd person
5b (Reason)		
[ 6a Imperative	}	2nd person
[7]		
[8]	}	3rd person singular
[9]		
[10] (third person-impersonal)		
[ 11]	}	2nd person
[12]		
[13] (third person-impersonal)		
[ 14a Imperative	}	2nd person
14b Effect		
[ 15a Imperative		
15b Effect		

## 16 יָצַח + oracle report formula

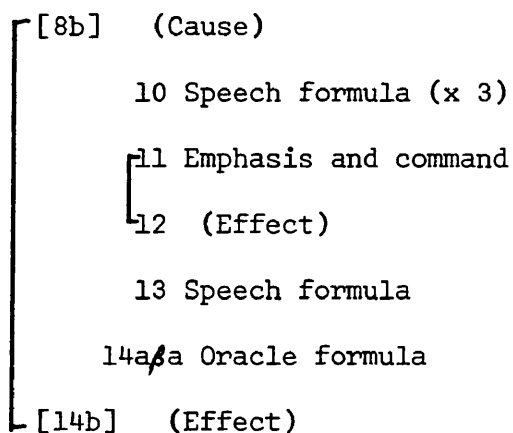
[ 16 a Quotation formula	}	3rd person impersonal
16 a b Quotation		

## 17 Final oracle report formula

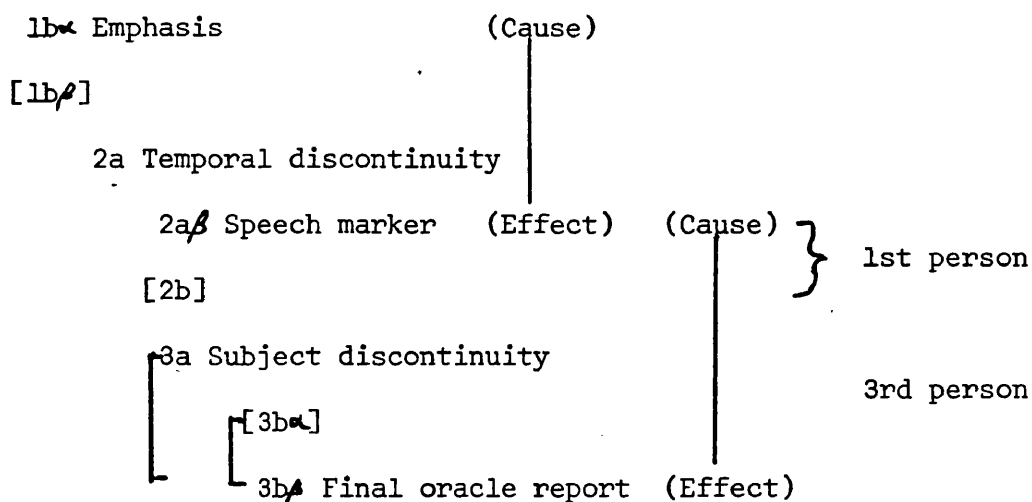
[ 18 Woe	}	2nd person
[20]		
[ 21]	}	1st person
[22]		
23-24 Imperative		2nd person
25-27 Question		2nd person
[ 6:1 Woe		3rd person
[3]		



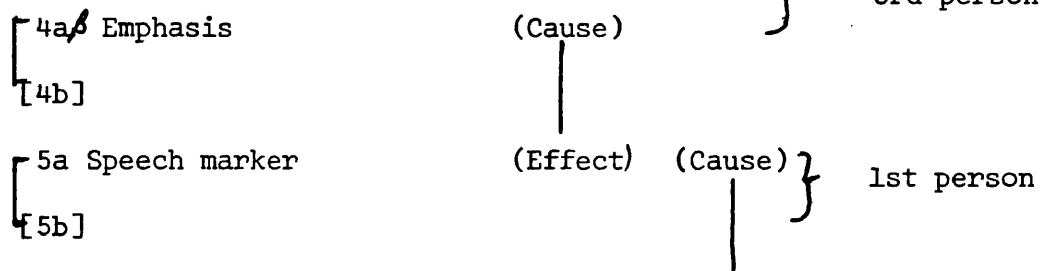
8a Oath formula and oracle report formula



7:1a Vision report formula



4a~~α~~ Vision report formula



## 6a Subject discontinuity

[6b~~a~~]6b~~β~~ Final oracle reort formula

(Effect)

3rd person

7a~~a~~ Vision report formula7a~~β~~ Emphasis

[7b]

8a~~a~~ Speech marker

3rd person

8a~~β~~ Question8a~~γ~~a Speech marker

1st person

8a~~γ~~b Answer

8b Speech marker

3rd person

[9]

## 10 Subject discontinuity

10a~~β~~ Quotation formula

(Effect)

11a 'D + oracle report formula (Cause)

[11b]

## 12 Speech marker (Indirect object discontinuity)

[13]

## 14 Speech marker (Indirect object discontinuity)

15b~~a~~ Speech marker15b~~β~~ Imperative

(Cause)

16a Temporal discontinuity and audience formula (Effect)

16b~~a~~ Speech marker (Modified)16b~~β~~ Imperative

(Cause)

17a 'D + oracle report formula

(Effect)

[17b]

## 8:1 Vision report formula

2a <del>a</del> Speech formula	3rd person
2a <del>a</del> b Question	
2a <del>a</del> Speech formula	1st person
2a <del>a</del> b Answer	
2b Speech formula	3rd person
3a Oracle formula	
[3b]	
4 Audience formula	
5 Quotation formula	
[6]	
7 Oath formula	
[8]	
9a <del>a</del> Marginal time reference	
9a <del>a</del> Oracle formula	
[10]	
11a <del>a</del> Emphasis	
11a <del>a</del> Oracle formula (+marginal time reference)	
[12]	
13 Marginal time reference	
14a <del>a</del> Speech markers	
[14b]	
9:1a Vision report formula (Variant)	
1b Speech marker	} 3rd person, speech
[4]	
[5]	} 3rd person, description
[6]	

[7]

7a Oracle formula

8b Oracle formula

}

2nd person

9 Emphasis

10b Quotation formula

[11 Marginal time reference

12 Final oracle report formula

[13a Emphasis and marginal time reference

13a Oracle formula

[15b Final oracle report formula

## Appendix I

### Symbolic Abbreviations

There follows a list of abbreviations in ancient<sup>West</sup>/Semitic in which a word or concept is represented by a symbol other than one of the letters found in the abbreviated word. These are presented in the same tabular form as the extra-biblical abbreviations already studied (see pp. 318-327 above). The columns indicate

- I. The symbol, with references to its use;
- II. The represented word, with reference to those proposing the interpretation;
- III. The language in which the text is written, presented as
  - a. Hebrew, b. Aramaic, c. Phoenician/Punic;
- IV. Date(s) of the texts using the abbreviation;
- V. Genre of texts;
- IV. Other comments.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
—	10 <sup>1</sup>	a. <sup>2</sup> b. <sup>3</sup> c. <sup>4</sup>	8th(?) -	Economic	Weights
			5th cent. BC		
≡ <sup>5</sup>	Division	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible; Manual	
	marker <sup>6</sup>			of discipline	

.....

1. Hestrin, IR, p. 50; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 176; Gibson, SSI I, p. 16; Lidzbarski, ESE III, pp. 14,15; Maisler, JNES 10, p. 266; cf. the related form aš=1 in Akkadian (Borger, Zeichenliste, p. 55).

2. IR 42:2; JNES 10, pl. XI, B:2.

3. ESE III, pp. 14, F:3; 15, L:2; P:1.

4. See van den Branden, Bib et Or 109, p. 22 for ≡ as twenty (cf. ≡ below).

5. Occurrences in Martin, Character, p. 9\*, List 8; see the related —, 1QS, 11:22 and passim.

6. Discussed in ibid., pp. 171-175, 198-199.



I

II

III

IV

V

VI

<sup>3</sup>100<sup>4</sup>

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic 200-400 =



respectively

<sup>5</sup>40<sup>6</sup>

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

<sup>7</sup>

2 + word

a.

8th cent. BC

Economic

dividers<sup>8</sup><sup>9</sup>500<sup>10</sup>

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

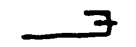
<sup>11</sup>

600

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

<sup>12</sup>

700

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

<sup>13</sup>

800

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic


<sup>14</sup>

900

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

<sup>15</sup>

80

a.

7th cent. BC

Economic

<sup>16</sup>

90













a.

7th cent. BC



Economic








.....

3. BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, V.4. Cohen, BAR 7, p. 27.5. BAR 7, p. 27, II, IV.6. Cohen, ibid.7. IR 74:3.8. Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, p. 71; Hestrin, IR, p. 40.9. This and the following signs are from BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, III, V.10. For these signs, see Cohen, ibid., p. 27.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	 <sup>2</sup>	a.	7th - 6th cent. BC	Economic	Hieratic <sup>3</sup>
 <sup>4</sup>	 <sup>5</sup>	a.	7th - 6th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>6</sup>	 <sup>7</sup>	a.	8th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>8</sup>	 <sup>9</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>10</sup>	 <sup>11</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Manual of Discipline	
 <sup>12</sup>	 <sup>13</sup>	b.c.	4th - 3rd cent. BC	Economic	

.....

1. KA 16:5.
2. Aharoni, KA, pp. 32, 33; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281 (tentative).
3. Möller, Hieratische I, p. 59; II, p. 55; III, p. 59; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.
4. BAR 7, p. 27, col. II.
5. Cohen, ibid, p. 27.
6. KA 60:1.
7. Aharoni, KA, p. 91 - '4?':
8. Lachish III, pl. 51:1-6, 11; see EM 4, col. 872.
9. Stern, EM 4, col. 872; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 176.
10. 1QS, 7:25; cf. the similar  in 1QS, 9:3.
11. See Martin, Character, pp. 152-153.
12. Aramaic - IR 156:1; 158:1; IEJ 28 (1978), p. 107; Phoenician - IR 110:1; CIS I, 87:2,4; cf. EM 4, col. 876 for reference to usage in Ugarit.
13. Hestrin, IR 69, 70; Stern, EM 4, col. 876; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 173; Lane, BASOR 164, p. 22; cf. the hieroglyphic  = 10, Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 60; II, 56; III, 60.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	10 <sup>2</sup>	a.b.c.	5th-1st cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>3</sup>	Paragraph	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
	division <sup>4</sup>				
 <sup>5</sup>	2000 <sup>6</sup>	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>7</sup>	5 <sup>8</sup>	a.	8th - 7th	Economic,	
			cent. BC	weights	
 <sup>9</sup>		a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Interlinear
*  <sup>10</sup>	Passage marker <sup>11</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
 <sup>12</sup>	20 <sup>12</sup>	a. <sup>13</sup> b. <sup>14</sup>	5th cent. BC -	Economic;	
			1st cent. AD	Year formulae	

.....

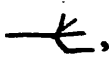
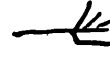
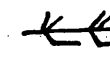
1. Aramaic - AD 5:5; 8:3,5; BASOR 220 (1975), p. 55:4; Mur 8,1:1,3; 8,2; Hebrew - 3Q15, iv:14; x:4 and passim in the Copper Scroll.

2. G.R. Driver, AD, pp. 27,31; Geraty, BASOR 220, p. 58; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281 (?); Milik, DJD II, pp. 88, 89.

3. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 28:27; 32:28; 35:22; 38:6; 43:21; 49:5.

4. Martin, Character, p. 179.

5. BAR 7, p. 27, col. III, V.





6. Cohen, ibid., p. 27. 3-6,000 are symbolized , , , respectively.

7. RB 83 (1976), pl. 27, a; IR 36:1; 74:1; 93; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, pl. 39:2; KA 24:12; 36:7; 65:2; 87; Mur 17:3,4; HUCA 40/1 (1969), p. 175, no. 1,2 (see list on p. 177); Gerar, pl. xvii:54, 68; IEJ 12 (1962), pl. 6, A:2; D; PEQ 97 (1965), pl. xxiv, fig. 9; Diringier, Iscrizioni, pp. 29ff, 29:1; 30:1 and passim; BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, IV.

8. There have been two main proposals as to the meaning of this sign, arrived at from different angles of approach. Since the sign is used on weights along with the shekel sign (see p.422below), and the weight of the artifacts was four shekels, the symbol was interpreted as meaning 'four' - so Hestrin, IR, pp. 46, 103 (Heb); Dever, HUCA 40/1, pp. 175-177; Biran, RB 83 (1976), p. 257; Kaufman, BASOR 188, pp. 39-41.

The other main approach was to compare the sign on the Hebrew documents with that used in Hieratic texts, where it meant '5' (Möller, Hieratische, pp. II, 55; III, 59) - so Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281; Hestrin, IR, p. 81 (Heb; note Hestrin's inconsistency); Aharoni, KA, pp. 68, 93, 102; idem, BASOR 184, p. 19; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 176; Scott, PEQ 97, p. 129; Naveh, IEJ 12, pp. 30-32; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, p. 71; Allrik, BASOR 136 (1954), p. 24; Diringier, Iscrizioni, pp. 58-59.


Some also interpreted the sign as signifying '10', e.g. Diringier, Iscrizioni, pp. 29, 57-58. Pardee sees <sup>it</sup> in KA 24:12 as '50' (so Aharoni, KA, p. 48), but since

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	70 <sup>2</sup>	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>3</sup>	4 <sup>4</sup>	a.	8th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>5</sup>	40 <sup>6</sup>	a.	?	Economic	Weight
 <sup>7</sup>	20 <sup>8</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC		Hieratic? <sup>9</sup>

.....

the top is broken this is not certain.

It appears that the numerical symbol on the four shekel weight does not stand for '4', the number of shekels, but rather for '5', the number of Egyptian qdt which corresponds to four shekels; so Aharoni, BASOR 184, pp. 17-18; Mettinger, Officials, p. 50.

9. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 27:21; 33:1; 40:19.
10. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 8:9; see Martin, Character, p. 182 and n. 181.
11. Ibid., p. 188.
12. Lidzbarski, ESE II, p. 220; Geraty, BASOR 220, p. 58; Milik, DJD II, p. 88; Baillet, DJD III, pp. 212-215; Degen, NESE III, p. 31; Donner, KAI II, p. 27; Hestrin, IR, pp. 69, 71.
13. 3Q15, passim; cf. the similar =20 in 6Q 17:1 (Baillet, DJD III, p. 132).
14. AD 8:2,4; KAI 27:4; IR 157:1; 164:3; Bowman, Ritual, 19:5; 49:5; 50:4; 51:6 and passim; BP 11:7; IEJ 28, p. 107; NESE IV, p. 31; ESE II, p. 220, E; BASOR 220, p. 55:4; Mur 8, 1:2.

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1. BAR 7, p. 27, col. V.
2. Cohen, ibid.
3. Mur 17:1.
4. Milik, DJD II, p. 98; Hestrin, IR, p. 25.
5. IR 95.
6. Hestrin, IR p. 49 - based on the weight.
7. Lachish 19:3,4.
8. So Lemaire, Inscriptions, pp. 132-133, 281; contra H. Torczyner, Lachish I (Oxford, 1938), pp. 200, 212 and Aharoni, BASOR 184 (1968), p. 18, who interpret the sign as '50', though hieratic '20' is closer in form.
9. See Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 60; II, 56; III, 60.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
<del>X</del> /1 <sup>1</sup>	10 <sup>2</sup>	a.b.	8th - 5th cent. BC	Economic; Hieratic <sup>3</sup> year formulae	
<del>X</del> 4	30 <sup>5</sup>	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	
<del>X</del> 6	30 <sup>7</sup>	a.			Hieratic <sup>8</sup>
<del>A</del> 9		a.		Economic	Tag
<del>A</del> 10	3 <sup>11</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Manual of Discipline	
X 12	Paragraph, passage divider <sup>13</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	










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1. Hebrew - Lachish 9:3; 19:1,2,7,9; PEQ 96 (1964), pl. X A; IEJ 6 (1956), pl. 12:9; Aharoni, Beer-sheba I, p. 71; Mur 17:1,2; BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, III, IV, VI; Aramaic - IR 164:3; Bowman, Ritual, 3:5 and passim; ESE II, p. 211, a:2.
2. Lemaire, Inscriptions, pp. 127, 132, 281; Hestrin, IR, pp. 40, 155; Lidzbarski, ESE II, p. 212; Cohen, BAR 7, p. 27.
3. Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 60; II, 56; II, 60; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 280.
4. BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, IV.
5. Cohen, ibid.
6. BASOR 184 (1966), p. 16, 2b; PEQ 97 (1965), pl. XXIII, fig. 4.
7. Aharoni, BASOR 184, p. 19.
8. Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 60; II, 56; cf. III, 60; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.
9. IEJ 15, pl. 19, c:2.
10. 3Q15, iv:5.
11. Milik, DJD III, p. 288.
12. 1QIs<sup>a</sup>, plate XLVI between columns at ll. 10-11, 13, 23 (cf. Martin, Character, p. 9\*, 8e for other occurrences in 1QIs<sup>a</sup>); 1QpHab 3:12,14; 4:11,14; 6:4,12; 8:1; 9:1,13; 10:3; 12:2 (reason for use in 1Q15 is unknown).
13. Martin, Character, pp. 175-179, 188.

I	II	III	IV	V	V
1/	1/10 and multiples (units, tens, etc.) <sup>1</sup>	a.b.c. Akkadian <sup>2</sup>	Varied	Economic, Hieratic <sup>3</sup> dates, etc.	
/ <sup>4</sup>		b.	?		Fragment. Precedes Measurement. <sup>5</sup>
/ <sup>6</sup>	Abbreviation mark <sup>7</sup>	a.			
L/c/z <sup>8</sup>	נהס <sup>9</sup>	a.	7th - 6th cent. BC	Economic	
— <sup>10</sup>	נב <sup>11</sup>	a.	7th - 6th cent. BC	Economic	Dry measure (grain).
* <sup>12</sup>	?	b.	?	?	Fragmentary
E <sup>13</sup>		a.	8th - 7th cent. BC	Economic	Capacity or numeral <sup>14</sup>

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1. E.g. Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 81 and passim; Aharoni, KA, passim; Donner, KAI II, p. 27; Diringer, Iscrizioni, pp. 57-58, 284; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 176.
2. Passim.
3. Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 59; II, 55; III, 59; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 286.
4. 6Q26, 2:2-4.
5. Written between the lines, i.e. ///P/
6. KA 1:2; 2:2; 3:2; 5:12 (so Pardee, UF 10, p. 304).
7. Pardee, UF 10, p. 293.
8. KA 30:4; 31:9,10; 33:1,6; 41:1,7; Mur 17:1-4.
9. Aharoni, KA, pp. 57,63,77; Milik, DJD II, pp. 97-98, fig. 27, noting possible confusion with the נב, which I hold (p. 405, n. 6) to be rather '10'.
10. KA 1:7; 18:6; cf. also the seal from Shechem in EAEHL IV, p. 1098 where the sign could be simply a space filler.
11. Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281; see Aharoni, KA, pp. 14, 38; Pardee, UF 10, p. 317 - one homer.
12. 6Q26, 9:1.
13. IR 103.
14. Avigad, IEJ 22 (1972), p. 3; Hestrin, IR, p. 144 (Heb.).

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	1/4 <sup>2</sup>	a.	8th-7th cent. BC	Economic	Jar
 <sup>3</sup>	איפה <sup>4</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	
 <sup>4</sup>	100 <sup>5</sup>	a. <sup>6</sup> b. <sup>7</sup>	4th cent. BC - 1st cent. AD	Economic	
 <sup>8</sup>		a.	8th cent. BC	Economic	Liquid (oil or wine) <sup>9</sup>
 <sup>10</sup>	? <sup>11</sup>		7th cent. BC	Economic	Weight
 <sup>12</sup>		b.	5th - 4th cent. BC	Economic	Measure; less than a קב <sup>13</sup>
 <sup>14</sup>	Royal emblem <sup>15</sup>	c.	4th cent. BC	Wine jar	
 <sup>16</sup>	קב <sup>17</sup>				
 <sup>18</sup>	Paragraph <sup>19</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	

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1. RB 83 (1976), pl. I b.
2. Lemaire, RB 83, p. 56.
3. KA 18:5; 31 passim; 33:3; 42:1,2; 83:3.
4. Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281; proposed by Aharoni in KA, pp. 37, 38 and passim as the לחך, so Pardee, UF 10, pp. 316-317; Albright (ANET, p. 569, n. 19) has proposed an area measurement based on a hieratic symbol, for which see Möller, Hieratische, p. II, 61.
5. Milik, DJD III, pp. 212, 221; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 177; Cowley, AP, pp. 5-6, 197; Grelot, DAE, pp. 111, 223, 257, 269; further examples as yet unpublished 4Q material are mentioned in DJD III, p. 221.
6. 3Q15, i:6.
7. BP 4:17; 12:8; AP 2:15; 81:44.
8. Beer-sheba I, fig. 1 and pl. 34, 1:2.
9. Aharoni, ibid., p. 71.
10. Lachish III, pl. 51, 10, 15; see EM 4, col. 872.
11. Stern, ibid. and Tuffnell, Lachish III, p. 352 - unknown.
12. Beer-sheba I, pl. 35, 1:3; 3:2; 4:3.
13. Aharoni, ibid., p. 79, n. 8.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
𐤑	50 <sup>2</sup>			Economic (Weights)	Hieratic <sup>3</sup>
𐤒 <sup>4</sup>	1/2 <sup>5</sup>	a.b.	1st cent. BC	Manual; fragment	
𐤓 <sup>6</sup>		a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
𐤔 <sup>7</sup>	2 <sup>8</sup>	a.	10th cent. BC	School text	Hieratic(?) <sup>9</sup>
𐤕 <sup>10</sup>	Paragraph indicator <sup>11</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	
𐤖 <sup>12</sup>	100 <sup>13</sup>	c.	2nd cent. BC	Year formula	Building inscriptions

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14. IR 110:3.

15. Hestrin, IR, p. 55.

16. Mur 8:1,3; cf. also Mur 90a:7 and passim for the Greek examples.

17. Milik, DJD II, p. 98, fig. 27.

18. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 21:23.

19. Martin, Character, p. 184.

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2. Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.

3. Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 60; II, 56; III, 60; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.

4. Hebrew - 3Q15, ix:6; Mur 8, 1:3; Syria 4 (1923), p. 244:4,10; PSBA 29 (1907), pl. 1, a:3 and passim; Aramaic - 6Q26, 1:4.

5. Milik, DJD II, pp. 88, 89; DJD III, pp. 221, 294; Baillet, ibid., p. 139; Tsarfati, EM 5, col. 177.

6. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 7:8.

7. KAI 182:1,2,6.

8. Segal, JSS 7 (1962), pp. 212-221, but disputed by, e.g. Gibson, SSI I, p. 3.

9. See some of the hieratic symbols in Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 59; II, 55; III, 59.



I	II	III	IV	V	VI
→/ 1	100 <sup>2</sup>	a.b.	5th - 1st cent. BC	Economic	
ץ 3	שעורה <sup>4</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	Hieratic
ץ 5	10 <sup>6</sup>	a.	8th cent. BC	Economic	
ץ 7		b.	?	?	Fragment
t 8	4 <sup>9</sup>	a.	8th cent. BC		
ץ 10	2 <sup>11</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Manual	

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10. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 22:9.

11. Martin, Character, p. 185.

12. CIS I, 7:4,5.

13. Donner, KAI II, p. 27; Lidzbarski, Handbuch, pp. 198-202.

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1. Hebrew - 3Q15, i:6; Aramaic - AP 2:15; 81:44; BP 4:17; 12:8.

2. Grelot, DAE, pp. 111, 223, 257, 269; Milik, DJD III, p. 285.

3. KA 25:1, 2; 34, i:8; ii:8, 9; BASOR 202, p. 27, fig. 3:1.

4. Yeivin, IEJ 16 (1966), pp. 154-155 as שִׁמְיָ, 'S. Egyptian barley'; Aharoni, KA, pp. 52, 64; not accepted by Rainey in BASOR 202, p. 26.

5. See p. 164, fig. 1 above, 1. 3.

6. Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281 (tentative); Hestrin, IR, p. 28; Diringer, Iscrizioni, p. 72; as נב, Milik, DJD II, pp. 97-98, fig. 27.

7. 6Q26, 4:2.

8. Diringer, Iscrizioni, p. 36, 63:1.

9. Ibid.

10. 3Q15, iii:13; viii:7, 13 (as י ).

11. Milik, DJD III, pp. 287, 293.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
<u>Y</u> 1	3 <sup>2</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Manual	
<u>W</u> 3	300 <sup>4</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	Hieratic <sup>5</sup>
<u>G</u> 6	? <sup>7</sup>	a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
<u>E</u> 8	6 <sup>9</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Economic	Hieratic <sup>10</sup>
<u>T</u> 11		a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
<u>Z</u> 12	20 <sup>13</sup>	a.	6th cent. BC	Date	Hieratic <sup>14</sup>
				formula	
<u>O</u> 15		a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
<u>O</u> 16	25 <sup>17</sup>	a.	8th cent. BC	Economic	Hieratic(?)

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1. 3Q15, viii:9.
2. Milik, DJD III, p. 293.
3. KA 2:4; cf. BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, V.
4. Aharoni, KA, pp. 15-16; idem, BASOR 184, p. 19 as '30'; Lemaire, Inscriptions, pp. 161, 281; Pardee, UF 10, p. 298.
5. Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 61; II, 57; III, 61; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.
6. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 32:29.
7. Martin, Character, p. 188.
8. Tel Aviv 4 (1977), p. 102:1 (Text 112); KA 25:3.
9. Rainey, Tel Aviv 4, p. 102; Aharoni, KA, p. 53; earlier understood by Rainey to be '7', see BASOR 202, p. 27.
10. See some symbols in Möller, Hieratische, pp. I, 59; II, 55.
11. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 5:22.
12. KA 17:8 = BASOR 184, p. 15:8; 16, 2b; 20; BAR 7, p. 27, col. II.
13. Aharoni, KA, pp. 34, 36; idem, BASOR 184, pp. 16, 19; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281.
14. Möller, Hieratische, pp. II, 56; III, 60.
15. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 17:1, 28:18.
16. KA 60:2.
17. Aharoni, KA, p. 91.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
o/c/1 <sup>1</sup>	nxpn <sup>2</sup>	a.		Economic	Hieratic grain measure
θ <sup>3</sup>		a.	1st cent. BC	Bible	Margin
⊕ <sup>4</sup>	v <sup>5</sup>	a.b.c.	4th cent. BC on	Jars	
⊗ <sup>6</sup>		Ugaritic	12th cent. BC		
γ <sup>7</sup>	hpe <sup>8</sup>	a.			

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1. KA 25:1-4; 34 passim; Beer-sheba I, pl. 35, 2:2; BASOR 202, p. 27, fig. 3:1, 2, 4; IEJ 16 (1966), p. 155:1 and passim; RB 83, pl. I b; BAR 7, p. 27, col. II, III

2. Aharoni, KA, pp. 52, 64; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281; idem., RB 83, p. 57; Yeivin, IEJ 16, pp. 156-158; cf. Cohen, BAR 7, p. 27.

3. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 11:4.

4. RB 83, pl. I, b; IEJ 18 (1968), pl. 25, A:3. Other examples noted by Cross, IEJ 18, p. 231.

5. Lemaire, RB 83, p. 57; Cross, IEJ 18, pp. 227, 231.

6. KTU 1.66 passim.

7. Numerous examples, e.g. IEJ 28 (1978), p. 210, 1, 2; Lachish III, pl. 51, 1-6; BASOR 184, pp. 16, 2 a-c; 20; Moscati, Epigrafia, pp. 103-104, no. 11-17; EM 4, col. 866-869; PEQ 97 (1965), pl. XXIII, fig. 1-4; BAR 7, pp. 26-27, col. 4-5.

8. Stern, EM 4, col. 866-869; Scott, BASOR 153 (1959), pp. 32-35; Aharoni, BASOR 184, pp. 16-17, 20; Yadin, Scripta Hierosolymitana 8 (1961), pp. 5-6; Cross, IEJ 18 (1968), p. 231; Tufnell, Lachish III, p. 352; Barkay, IEJ 28, pp. 209-211; Milik, DJD II, pp. 97-98, fig. 27; Lemaire and Vernus, Semitica 28 (1978), pp. 53-58; Lemaire, Inscriptions, p. 281; Cohen, BAR 7, pp. 27, 30.

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Addenda and Corrigenda

P. 138:

(d) מלה

The Aramaic מלה and the Hebrew דבר share much the same semantic range, from 'word' to 'thing'.<sup>1</sup> It is also similar in its apparent use as a text description in the Ahiqar text. Although the beginning of the first line is missing, it apparently reads (ל... לברה זנדין. י חכם ומהיר ופזר חכים שמה פזר אחיקר שמה מלה מלי אלה מלי) 'These are the words of one named Ahiqar, a wise and skilled scribe, which he taught to his son [Nadin] (AP, p. 212).<sup>2</sup> The designation of the work as מלים is supported by the use of the same word in the next line in relation to the content of this text. The document contains many sayings of Ahiqar so the meaning 'words' would be very appropriate (cf. pp. 130-135 above).

Unlike the use of the word דבר as a reference to another work, this Aramaic heading is found on the actual text described and so serves as a title,<sup>3</sup> describing to some extent the content of the work. While the title could easily have a referential use, it is not found with this function in the extant literature.




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1. See pp. 123-136 above and DISO, p. 152 sub מלה.
2. See DAE, p. 432.
3. Ibid.

P. 280:

ואת-הכסף; suggested to me by H.G.M. Williamson; note that although the parallel passage in 1 Ki 7:51 does not have this copula, Keil in Kings, p. 116, still understands the phrase headed by this copula as defining the preceding phrase as can be shown by his addition of '(namely)' between the two phrases.

P. 414:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	7,000 <sup>2</sup>	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	
	8,000	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	
	9,000	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	

.....

1. These three signs are from BAR 7, p. 27, col. VI.
2. For the following three signs, see Cohen, ibid., p. 27.

P. 417:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
 <sup>1</sup>	1,000 <sup>2</sup>	a.	7th cent. BC	Economic	

.....

1. BAR 7, p. 27, col. III, V.
2. Cohen, ibid.

P. 429:

Donbaz, V. Ninurta-Tukulti-Assur: Zamanina ait Orta Asur Idari Belgeleri.  
Ankara, 1977. (NTA).

P. 442:

Now published in Bibl. 62 (1981), pp. 153-168.

